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ABSTRACT

In today's world, no nation acts in isolation; the interdependence of nations makes international relations complex and ever-changing. This book is designed to help students understand why nations compete, why they cooperate, and why they sometimes go to war. Chapter 1 examines the behavior of nations and how national interest dictates the perceptions--and therefore, the actions--of world leaders. Chapter 2 describes the process by which one nation--the United States--develops its foreign policy. Chapter 3 analyzes how events after World War II redefined the context in which international relations are conducted. Chapter 4 discusses three issues of global importance--problems affecting developing nations, the stability of the international economy, and the spread of nuclear weapons. Chapter 5 describes the tools or the methods that nations have available to them to carry out their foreign policy objectives. This book should help students understand the forces that shape the foreign policies of all nations and their stake in the future of the global community. (GEA)

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Understanding the Behavior of Nations

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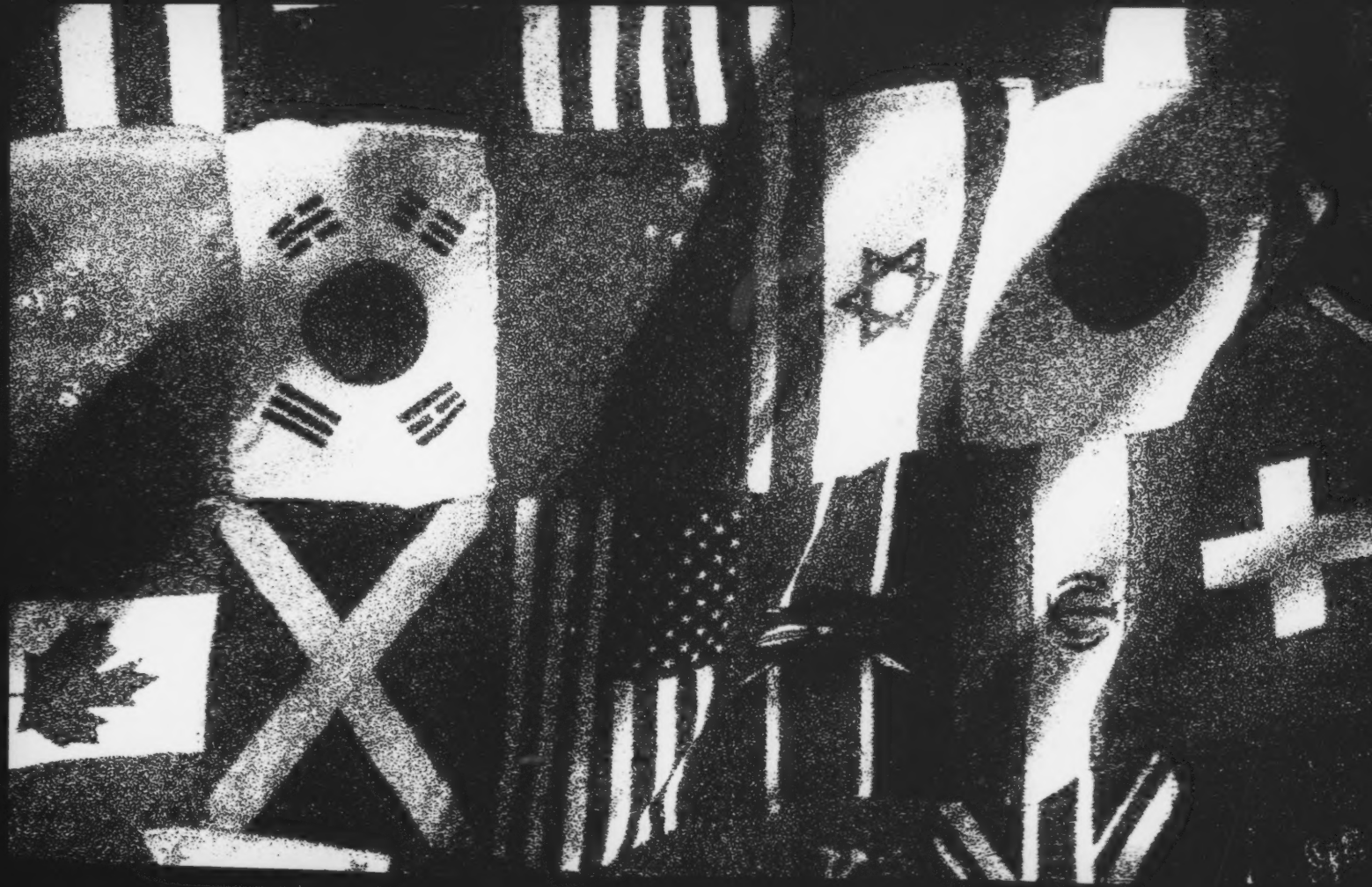

International Relations

Understanding the Behavior of Nations

Close Up Foundation

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Introduction

In 1940, there were 77 independent nations in the world. Today, there are more than 160. Some nations are friendly with one another, while others are hostile to their neighbors. Some nations are rich in natural resources, while other nations must import large quantities of energy, minerals, or food. Some nations have thriving economies that make them rich and self-sufficient, while other nations are so poor that their existence depends almost entirely on foreign aid. These and other characteristics—including language, religion, culture, and type of government—influence the way particular leaders think the world should function and the role their nation should play in world affairs.

In today's world, no nation acts in isolation. Decisions made by one nation's leaders—about agricultural production, regulation of industry, or military expenditures—can have a dramatic effect on other nations. The interdependence of nations makes international relations—or the interaction among nations—complex and ever-changing.

This book will help you understand why nations compete, why they cooperate, and why they sometimes go to war.

Chapter 1 examines the behavior of nations and how national interest dictates the perceptions—and therefore, the actions—of world leaders.

Chapter 2 describes the process by which one nation—the United States—develops its foreign policy.

Chapter 3 analyzes how events after World War II redefined the context in which international relations are conducted.

Chapter 4 discusses three issues of global importance—problems affecting the Third World, the stability of the international economy, and the spread of nuclear weapons.

Chapter 5 describes the tools of foreign policy, that is, the methods that nations have available to them to carry out their foreign policy objectives.

This book will help you understand the forces that shape the foreign policies of all nations and your stake in the future of the global community.

The Behavior of Nations

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In today's interdependent world, events in one nation affect many others. The perception of a military build-up in the Soviet Union prompts the United States to increase its defense spending. The threat that a South American country could default on its loans causes panic on Wall Street. A famine in North Africa mobilizes relief efforts around the world.

Once a collection of isolated nations, the world can now be called a global community. Modern methods of communication and transportation provide world leaders access to more information more quickly, but the revolution in communication can also increase the chance of misunderstanding and conflict. And because the world is so closely linked, understanding the behavior of individual nations is crucial to understanding world events.

Defining National Interest

Underlying the behavior of all nations is the concept of *interest*. Used in this context, the term "interest" means advantage or benefit. The concept of national interest can be likened to a person's *self-interest*.

Most people act out of self-interest. They base their actions on what will be to their benefit or advantage. However, not all people define self-interest in the same way. For example, some individuals value financial success more than anything else and base their actions on increasing their personal wealth. Other people value religious ideals and act according to their faith. Still other people value power and seek ways to increase their authority over others. Most people base their actions on their *perception* of what is in their self-interest.

On the national level, citizens look to their leaders to carry out policies that promote their nation's self-interest, or *national interest*. At first glance, the idea of national interest may seem fairly simple: it is what is best for a particular nation. But not all citizens agree on what is best. Perceptions of national interest vary from person to person and evolve over time.

National interest is a combination of the security, economic, and ideological concerns of a nation. Even though every nation in the world tries to meet certain basic needs so that the nation can survive and develop, each nation is uniquely situated and has its own set of concerns. Some nations, like Chad or Bangladesh, are concerned primarily with survival—with feeding their people and protecting themselves from attack. Other nations, like Niger or Malaysia, seek to develop their natural resources in order to trade them for food and other commodities. Some nations, like Japan or the United States, have relatively little difficulty feeding their people. These nations are more concerned

with the continued growth of their industrial economies and with protecting themselves against nuclear war. Although every nation in the world has a unique perception of its own national interest, all nations share three broad concerns—security, economics, and ideology.

Security Interests

The most basic interest of any nation, whether it is the tiny island state of Grenada or the giant People's Republic of China, is ensuring the physical survival of the nation. Nations form armies to protect themselves from attack and form military alliances to ensure protection against powerful foes.

A nation's concern about security depends on its perception of threat against it. For example, the small nation of Israel maintains a large, well-equipped army because it is surrounded by hostile neighbors. The United States and the Soviet Union maintain large military and nuclear forces to protect themselves against attack. In comparison, the nation of Switzerland finds security in its mountainous borders, its friendly neighbors, and its history of neutrality.

But security interests mean more than just protection against outside attack. A nation must also make sure that social order is maintained and that citizens are safe from violence and crime.

Economic Interests

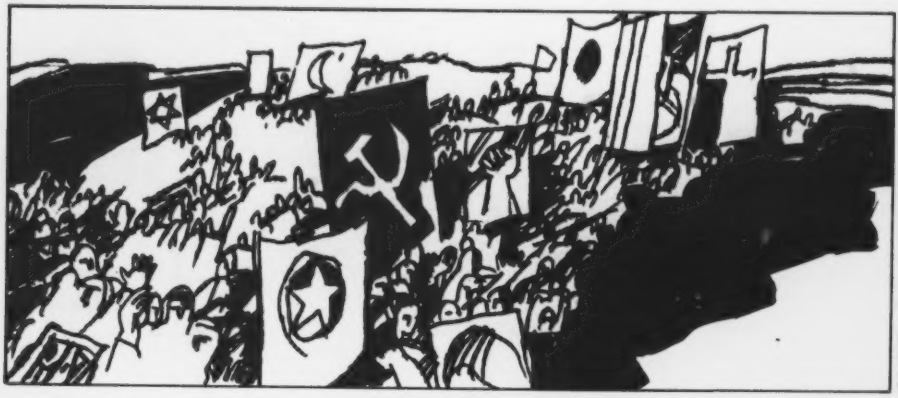
Most nations seek to promote the economic welfare of their people. The economic interest of nations varies according to available resources and the development of those resources.

Developing nations, such as Botswana in Africa and Bangladesh in Asia, need to procure the basic necessities of life—food, clothing, shelter, and health care—for their people. These nations do not yet have the sophisticated agricultural methods or the manufacturing industries that would enable them to advance beyond basic survival. Because they are unable to produce enough food for their people, they trade raw materials or cash crops for food and advanced technology.

Other nations, such as West Germany and Japan, are more industrialized and produce a variety of products, including food, industrial machinery, cars, computers, and clothing. Developed nations usually produce more products than they need. They then export these products, mostly manufactured goods, to other nations in exchange for needed raw materials and other products.

The economic growth of many nations depends on their ability to buy and sell products abroad. Their economic interests are determined by the needs of their citizens, the types of products they have to sell, and how developed their economies are.

Ideological Interests



Security and economic concerns alone do not explain why nations behave the way they do. *Ideology*—a combination of the beliefs, values, culture, religion, and historical experiences of a nation's people— also plays a role. All nations have an interest in protecting and promoting their way of life—both domestically and abroad.

The United States has an ideological interest in promoting and protecting its democratic way of life. Our nation believes that democracy is the best form of government. U.S. leaders encourage nations around the world to hold free elections and to establish representative forms of government.

The Soviet Union also has an interest in promoting and protecting its way of life and believes that communism is the best form of government. Soviet leaders encourage other nations to adopt forms of government that advance communist values and beliefs.

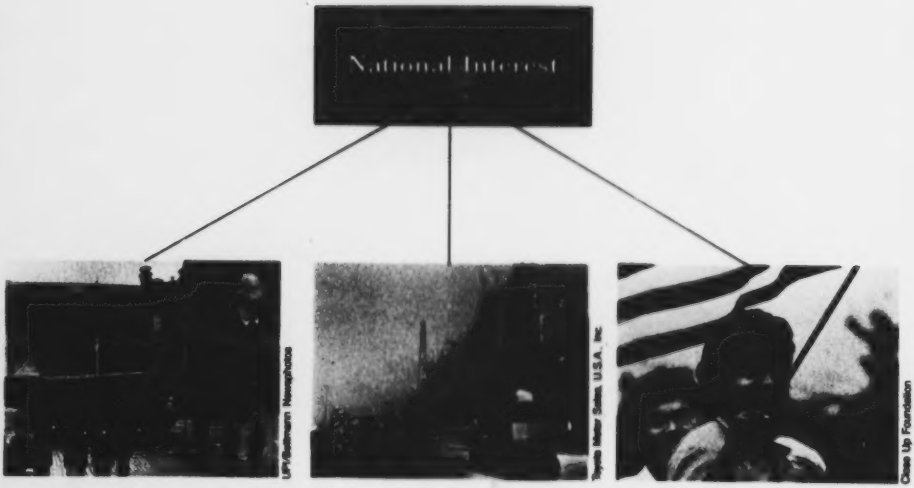
These three concerns—security, economics, and ideology—do not exist independently. Oftentimes, an economic or ideological concern is viewed as a security concern. For example, if people do not have enough food to eat, the stability—and therefore the security—of the government may be threatened. Some leaders believe that the physical security of their nation depends on adherence to a particular religion. These leaders encourage their citizens to do whatever is necessary—including going to war—to defend their ideological beliefs.

The responsibility for determining the national interest falls to a nation's political leaders. In each nation of the world, a national government assesses threats to its security, the health of the

economy, and the general well-being of its citizens to determine the nation's interest. There is no election to determine national interest. Leaders base their views on what they *perceive* to be in the best interest of the nation. However, perceptions change, and people do not always view the same situation in the same way. A perception is but one view—at one particular time—and not necessarily the only view.

Defining National Interest

Although every nation in the world has a unique perception of its own national interest, all nations share three broad concerns—security, economics, and ideology. To determine its nation's interest, a national government assesses threats to its security, the health of the economy, and the well-being of its citizens.



Security Interests

Protecting national borders

Maintaining relations with allies

Ensuring the safety of citizens from violence and crime

Economic Interests

Providing citizens with a decent standard of living

Ensuring economic development and growth

Establishing trade relations with other nations

Ideological Interests

Supporting a way of life at home and abroad

Protecting the cultural and religious heritage of a nation

Promoting a system of government

View of the Soviet Union from Europe

Leaders often base foreign policy actions on their views of what they *perceive* to be in the best interest of their nation. For example, since World War II, Western European leaders have viewed the Soviet Union as a threat to their national security.

View of Europe from the Soviet Union

Likewise, leaders in the Soviet Union view Western Europe as a threat to their security. These perceptions have led to a massive build-up of military forces on both sides of the East-West border in Europe.

Development of Foreign Policy

In every nation around the world, leaders first determine their nation's national interest, then develop a *foreign policy*, or course of action, to pursue this interest. The ability of a nation to carry out its foreign policy is based on many factors, including the capability of its government to fund its foreign policy programs, the strength of the nation's military, and the commitment of its people to support their leader's foreign policy actions. All leaders must consider these factors carefully because their decisions will have far-reaching effects both at home and abroad.

In developing a foreign policy, leaders generally try to balance the immediate needs of their nation with long-term goals. For example, a leader faced with massive starvation may give higher priority to trading for food than high-tech equipment. In addition, new circumstances—such as an improved or weakened economy, the discovery of mineral wealth, or the militarization of a hostile neighbor—can force a leader to reevaluate the needs of his or her country.

Power and the Pursuit of National Interest

One glance at a newspaper shows that even though all nations attempt to pursue their national interest, some nations are more successful than others. A key factor in international relations is power, that is, a nation's ability to influence others.

For centuries, philosophers, world leaders, and scholars have tried to define the nature of power. No one formula exists for predicting the power or potential power of a nation. Like national interest, power derives from a variety of characteristics.

Some nations are powerful because they occupy a strategic location or because they control a valuable resource. Other nations are powerful because they develop strong, diversified economies. And sometimes nations are powerful simply because their people are willing to sacrifice anything to achieve that nation's goals. However, the most powerful nations are nations like the United States and the Soviet Union, which seem to have many of these characteristics.

No nation has absolute power. The amount of power a nation has is relative to that of other nations and is based on a combination of many factors. An economist might think that Japan is powerful because of its efficient and prosperous economy. A general, on the other hand, might disagree, because Japan relies on the United States for military support. In developing a foreign policy, the relative power of a nation may affect the strategies it employs to achieve its national goals. A key element in evaluating a particular nation's power is *geopolitics*.

Geopolitics

Geopolitics refers to the way a nation's geography—its size, terrain, natural resources, and location—affects its political interaction with other nations. Historically, the geographic characteristics of a nation have greatly influenced its national experience and its behavior toward other nations. Although modern technology allows nations to overcome some obstacles, geopolitics continues to play an important role in the relations between nations.

Size

Size is an important geopolitical characteristic of every nation. The nations of the world vary tremendously in size. At one extreme is the Soviet Union, which covers more than 8 million square miles and is larger than the entire continent of South America. At the other extreme is the tiny nation of Grenada, which covers 133 square miles—only one-ninth the size of Rhode Island.

Large nations have several advantages over small nations. First, large nations are more likely to contain several important mineral resources, different types of soil, diverse terrain, and a variety of climates. These conditions allow a nation to develop a diversified economy, that is, one that is not dependent on a single crop or industry. For example, American farmers can produce several types of crops and livestock, requiring different types of soil and growing seasons. U.S. manufacturers have a variety of natural resources—such as coal, oil, natural gas, timber, and minerals—which allow them to develop a wide range of industries and products.

Second, large nations are better equipped to sustain natural disasters. If an earthquake, drought, tornado, hurricane, or crop failure strikes a large nation, the nation as a whole can survive the catastrophe and even help the afflicted areas. For

Geopolitical Advantages

Geopolitics is the way a nation's geography—its size, terrain, natural resources, and location—affects its interactions with other nations. Although modern technology allows nations to overcome some obstacles, geopolitics continues to play an important role in the relations between nations. All nations seek to use their geopolitical advantages to pursue their national interest.

Switzerland

Geopolitical Advantage: **Terrain.** Protected by mountainous borders, Switzerland has been able to maintain a policy of neutrality.

United States

Geopolitical Advantage: **Location.** Protected by the world's two largest oceans, the United States has been saved from invasion.

Soviet Union

Geopolitical Advantage: **Size.** With more than 8,000,000 square miles, the Soviet Union has a variety of natural resources, and types of soil and climate.

Saudi Arabia

Geopolitical Advantage: **Natural Resources.** Rich in oil, Saudi Arabia controls a key energy source for the rest of the world.

example, a drought in one region of the United States need not result in mass starvation. Other parts of the nation are able to come to the aid of towns and cities that have been devastated by a hurricane or tornado.

Third, large nations are more likely to be able to survive a military attack. For example, during World War II, Germany was unable to overrun the Soviet Union because the Soviet army was able to draw on its nation's huge population to provide them with a massive supply of soldiers. In addition, the Soviets were able to move factories and civilians out of range of invading forces. A smaller nation might have fallen to the Nazis or had to depend more heavily on other nations for assistance.

The size of a nation contributes to its ability to absorb disasters and to recuperate and prosper. Size, however, is only one factor that affects a nation's geopolitics.

Terrain

Terrain is another factor that affects the geopolitics of a nation. For example, the country of Chad, located in northern Africa, is a desert nation. It does not receive sufficient rainfall to grow enough food to feed its population. Leaders of Chad must cultivate good trade relations with nations that are able to provide Chad with large quantities of food.

The terrain along a nation's borders can affect that nation's security. For example, Poland has been invaded many times because its western border is a plain that offers no natural protection. Switzerland, on the other hand, has been able to maintain a policy of neutrality despite several wars in Europe because of its mountainous borders.

Natural Resources

The natural resources of a nation can be a key factor in the geopolitics of a nation. For example, small nations with few resources can command considerable influence if they control a resource that is in great demand. In 1973, the major oil-producing nations—including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Nigeria—raised the price of oil, curtailed production, and placed an embargo on some shipments. Since the world's industrialized nations depended on oil as a key energy source, the result was an energy crisis of massive proportions around the world. The Arab Oil Embargo of 1973 demonstrated how the world's dependency on one source of energy could give several nations tremendous power over the rest of the world.

Some nations, such as West Germany and Japan, are endowed with several key resources, but need to import others. The relationships of these two countries with other nations reflect their need for oil and other raw materials to fuel their growing industrial economies. As a consequence, both West Germany and Japan try to maintain a neutral policy toward nations in the Middle East because they are dependent on that region's supply of oil.

Nations with a diversity of resources—such as the United States, the Soviet Union, and Canada—are usually less dependent on other nations to fulfill their needs. Rich in natural resources, these countries are able to pursue foreign policies that reflect their relative independence from other nations.

Location

One of the most important geopolitical concerns of a nation is its location. If a nation is surrounded by friendly neighbors, it does not have to take undue measures to protect its borders. For example, the border between the United States and Canada is the longest open border in the world, but requires little monitoring because the two countries maintain good relations. The United States is also protected by the world's two largest oceans, which historically has saved us from invasion.

However, if a nation is bordered by hostile nations, that nation will have to protect its borders against attack. For example, the Soviet Union borders twelve—sometimes hostile—nations. No other nation shares borders with as many countries as the Soviet Union, and because of this, the Soviets are extremely concerned about maintaining secure borders against potential invaders.

The location of some nations gives them a *strategic* advantage. The word "strategic" describes something that is of great importance to a strategy or plan, usually a military plan. The United States considers Iceland strategic because it is located halfway between North America and Europe. The United States considers the Philippines strategic because of its location in the South Pacific. The U.S. government maintains friendly relations with both nations because it wants to keep military bases there.

National Resolve

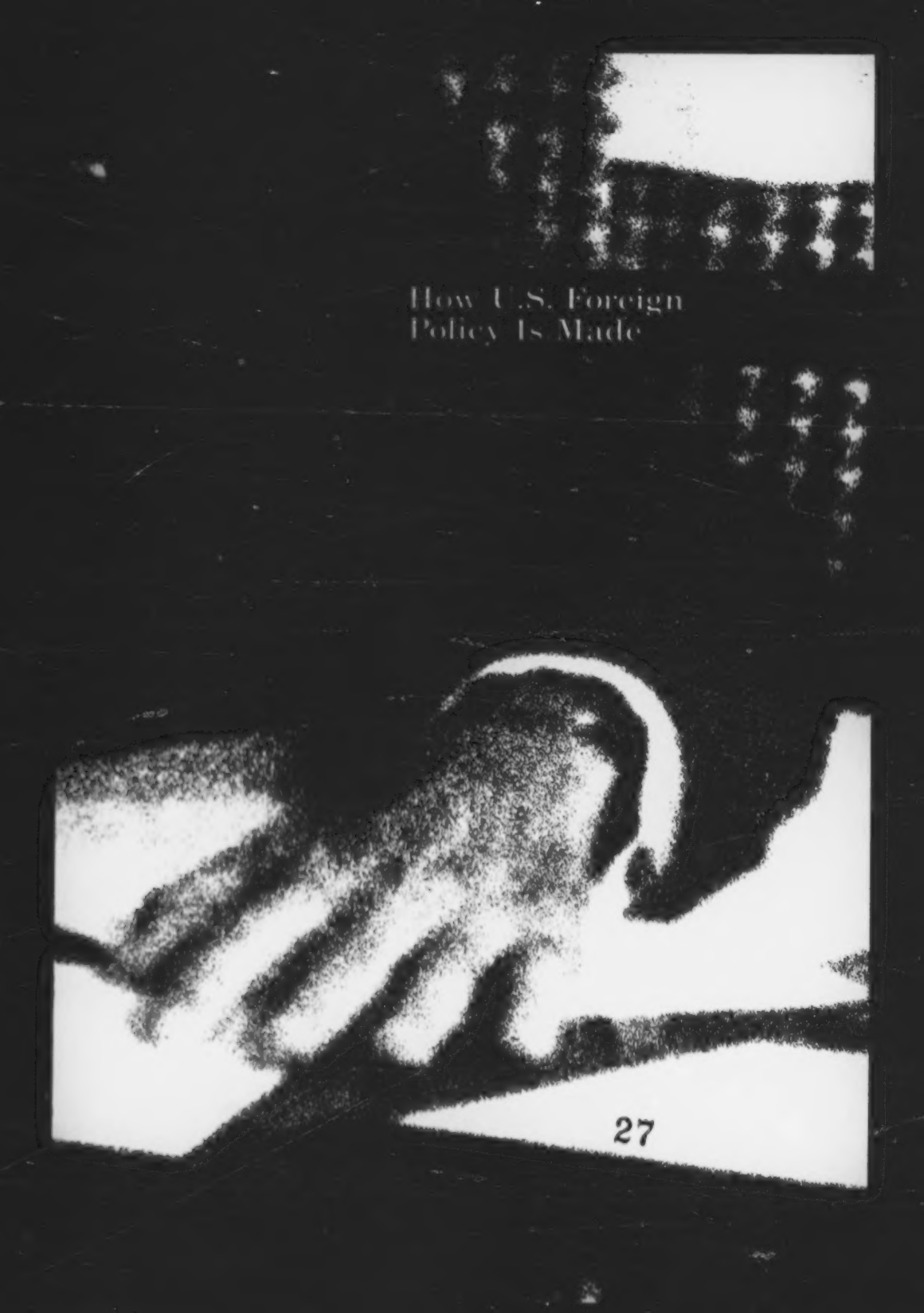
Geopolitical advantages enhance a nation's ability to promote its national interest. However, a nation with few advantages can achieve some power if its people share strong beliefs about the nation's goals and interests. The willingness of people to sacrifice to achieve national goals is called *national resolve.* National resolve is an important, though intangible, element of power.

Very often the political leaders of a nation mobilize public opinion and motivate people to work for a nation's goals. Throughout history, appeals to nationalism, ideology, or religion have prompted people to sacrifice much. Threats to national security also increase resolve. For example, Iranian soldiers killed in the war against Iraq are considered religious martyrs. Inspired by Islamic teachings, young Iranian soldiers are willing to die for the cause.

But sometimes people are not willing to support the policies of their nation's government. In the 1960s, many Americans did not support U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Public reaction against the war eventually forced the government to withdraw its troops from Vietnam. Few leaders can be successful in international relations without the support of a majority of the nation's people.

In every nation of the world, a national government strives to assess threats to security, the health of the economy, and the well-being of its people in order to determine the national interest. Since no nation can fulfill all its needs domestically, every nation must have a plan for dealing with other nations, that is, a foreign policy.

Geopolitical advantages and national resolve add greatly to a nation's power. For this reason, a nation's leaders seek to convert the geopolitical advantages of their nation into economic and military power. Economic and military strength adds to a nation's stability—e.g., its security—and most leaders recognize that ensuring stability is in their nation's interest.


How U.S. Foreign
Policy Is Made
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Like other nations, the national interest of the United States is shaped by many different factors. American foreign policy seeks to protect our nation's citizens, maintain our economic and military strength, and preserve our nation's values. In many ways, though, the United States is not like other countries. Our nation's location, economic system, and type of government have given us unique advantages, enabling us to become a leading player in world affairs.

Geopolitical Advantages of the United States

Historically, the United States has been insulated from the nations of Europe and Asia by the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. The vast distances separating our nation from the Old World have guarded us from military invasion. For much of our history, U.S. leaders sought to reinforce this protective isolation by avoiding entanglement in the affairs of distant countries. Unlike many other peoples, Americans seldom have had to worry that a foreign army would overrun our country. To reduce the chance of an invasion by land, the United States has generally maintained friendly relations with governments in neighboring Canada and Mexico.

Economically, Americans live in one of the most prosperous nations in the world. Our nation's prosperity stems from its size, variety of climates, and abundance of natural resources. Our economic system of free-enterprise allows individuals to take advantage of the opportunities that our nation offers. In large measure, the stability of our nation is directly related to the diversity of our economy.

Ideologically, Americans feel a strong commitment to preserving our way of life. Americans live in one of the freest societies in the world. Our system of government guarantees citizens the right to think, speak, worship, and act freely upon their own beliefs, and to provide individuals with an opportunity to succeed.

The United States has experienced tremendous growth in the twentieth century. Today, we are a leading force in world affairs—militarily, economically, and ideologically—and our interests stretch around the globe. Our leaders place great importance on advancing the cause of freedom in the world. U.S. foreign policy reflects our desire to protect the security of our nation and other democratic nations around the world.

The Making of U.S. Foreign Policy

The U.S. Constitution leaves considerable room for argument over foreign policy authority. This 200-year-old document splits the power to determine U.S. foreign policy between the president and Congress. Although the Constitution lists some specific powers that the president and Congress each have, constitutional scholars say that there is no clear answer to the question of whether the president or Congress should be more influential. Nevertheless, most of the initiative is in the president's hands.

Since the founding of the nation, the executive and legislative branches of government have fought with each other for control of our relations with other countries. In some eras, the president has been dominant, while at other times Congress has been more powerful. One expert has called the Constitution "an invitation to struggle" over foreign policy.

The President

The president is the single most important person in the making of foreign policy. The president sets the agenda for foreign policy, and Congress must react to it. The most important powers given to the president by the Constitution in regard to foreign policy are to conduct war, to make treaties and other international agreements, and to appoint ambassadors and other top officials.

Powers of the President

Conduct War. The president is commander-in-chief of all U.S. military forces. As such, the president can use the armed forces to advance U.S. foreign policy goals. Although the Constitution gives Congress the right to declare war, presidents do not need a war declaration to order the military into battle. None of the military conflicts fought by the United States since World War II—including

Photo Source: The White House

Commander-in-chief

The president of the United States is the commander-in-chief of all U.S. military forces. As such, the president can use the armed forces to advance U.S. foreign policy goals.

the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the invasion of Grenada, and the bombing of Libya—involved a declaration of war. All were ordered by the president without the formal approval of Congress.

Since the dawn of the nuclear age, the president has been given another awesome responsibility as the commander-in-chief of the military. Only the president can order a nuclear attack by the United States.

Make Treaties and Other International Agreements. The president and his representatives negotiate agreements with other nations to end wars, control weapons, regulate international trade, and resolve other global issues. One type of international agreement—treaties—must be submitted to the Senate for approval before it can go into effect. In recent years, presidents frequently have used *executive agreements*, international accords that do not require Senate approval. Such agreements allow the president and his advisors to work out agreements with other governments without having to worry whether the Senate will accept them.

Appoint Ambassadors and Other Top Officials. It is important for presidents to be served by people who agree with their general approach to

foreign policy. Presidents often have rewarded people who supported their presidential election campaigns by appointing them to be ambassadors. At times, the appointment of ambassadors also can help promote the president's domestic political agenda.

Presidential Decisionmaking. Although the president is the ultimate decisionmaker, much of his responsibility is delegated to the White House staff because of the vast number of decisions that must be made daily.

The president is surrounded by personal aides, many of whom may have been political supporters before the president was elected. These aides help the president sort through many competing demands. They advise the president on the political and economic consequences of foreign policy decisions. These aides also may try to change the president's mind, but his authority is final within the executive branch.

Constitutional Powers of the President: Foreign Policy

- *Conduct war*
- *Make treaties and other international agreements*
- *Appoint ambassadors and other top officials*

The vice president may be an important advisor to the president and frequently represents the president on visits to other countries. But the vice president has little power over foreign policy other than what the president allows.

The National Security Council is the organization within the White House that coordinates foreign policy. Chaired by the president, it is often the body that shapes the U.S. response to a foreign policy crisis. Sometimes the national security advisor, who oversees the functioning of the council, is a strong personality with close ties to the president. In that case, the council can be the most important foreign policy body in the whole government. For example, during President Richard Nixon's first term, National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger was seen by many as being more powerful than Secretary of State William Rogers.

Outside the White House, the two most important agencies in determining foreign policy are the Department of State and the Department of Defense. The departments are headed by departmental secretaries and other top officials appointed by the president. They are political supporters of the president, and generally agree with the president's foreign policy goals.

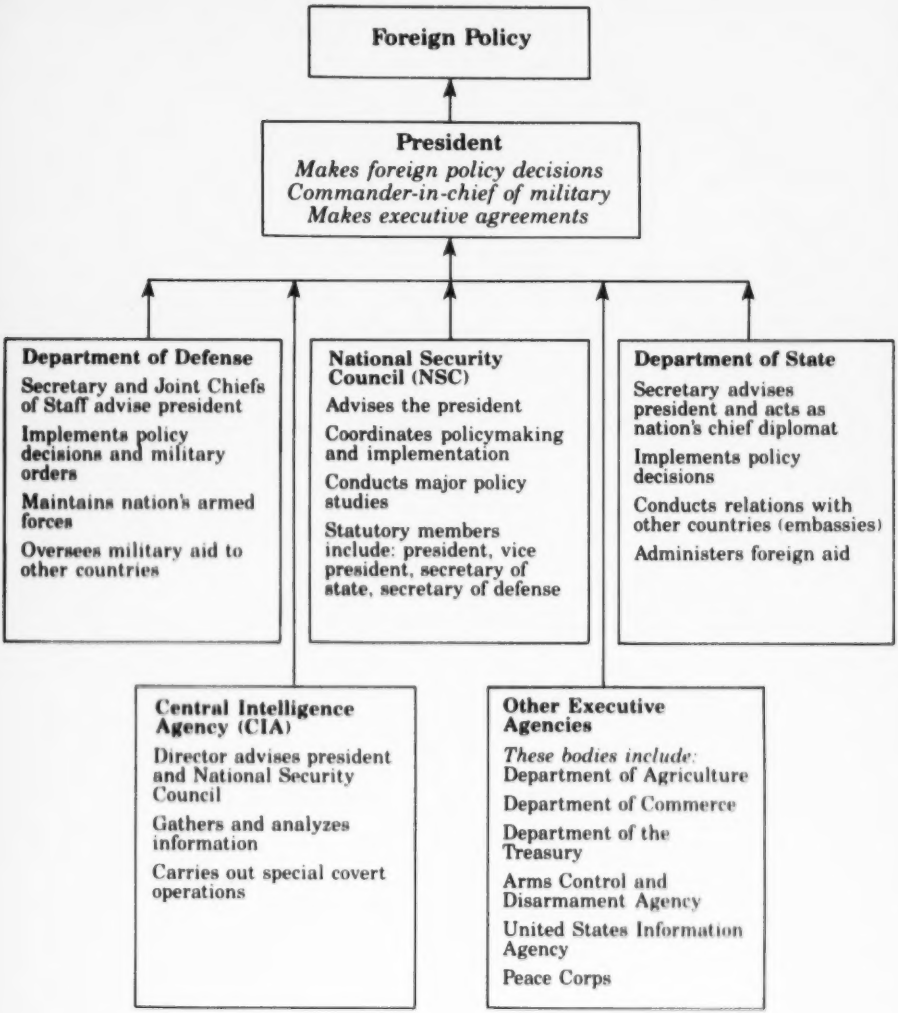
However, the secretaries and officials also support the interests and orientations of their own departments. This may bring the secretary of state and the secretary of defense into conflict with one another, as the two departments compete to persuade the president to adopt different policies.

Frequently, the State Department may favor a diplomatic approach to a problem—an outlook influenced by its need to work with other governments. But Defense Department officials may favor strategies that emphasize military force.

Policies decided by the president and his top advisors are carried out by the government bureaucracy. Most bureaucrats are civil service employees, who stay with the government regardless of changes in presidential administrations. The most important foreign policy bureaucracy is the Foreign Service, the elite corps of professional diplomats who hold many important positions in embassies abroad. These officials are supposed to support the current administration's policies. However, diplomats sometimes disagree personally with those policies and may seek to alter or delay the course favored by the president in hopes that the next president will adopt a different policy. Supporters of a president frequently complain that the permanent foreign policy bureaucrats are not working hard enough to carry out the administration's policies.

A key source of the president's ability to make foreign policy decisions is his access to information. Intelligence agencies—such as the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), and the National Security Agency (NSA)—provide information to the president that is not available to Congress.

In recent decades, intelligence agencies have become increasingly important. They are responsible for evaluating the strength of another country's military force and for predicting what other countries intend to do. Intelligence agencies engage in secret spying operations as well as analyze publicly available information. In addition, they may be asked to engage in *covert*, or secret, activities—actions that U.S. leaders do not want to be publicly identified with, but which they feel are necessary to the success of a particular policy objective.


Foreign Policy
President
Makes foreign policy decisions
Commander-in-chief of military
Makes executive agreements
Department of Defense
Secretary and Joint Chiefs of Staff advise president
Implements policy decisions and military orders
Maintains nation's armed forces
Oversees military aid to other countries
National Security Council (NSC)
Advises the president
Coordinates policymaking and implementation
Conducts major policy studies
Statutory members include: president, vice president, secretary of state, secretary of defense
Department of State
Secretary advises president and acts as nation's chief diplomat
Implements policy decisions
Conducts relations with other countries (embassies)
Administers foreign aid
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
Director advises president and National Security Council
Gathers and analyzes information
Carries out special covert operations
Other Executive Agencies
These bodies include:
Department of Agriculture
Department of Commerce
Department of the Treasury
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
United States Information Agency
Peace Corps

Congress

The Constitution gives Congress a number of ways to influence the direction of foreign policy. Under the Constitution, Congress has the power to declare war, control spending, approve treaties and confirm presidential nominations, and pass laws or resolutions stating a specific policy.

Powers of Congress

Declare War. Although the Constitution puts the president in charge of military operations, it gives Congress the right to put the nation into a formal state of war. However, this right has become less important over the years, as presidents have engaged in hostilities without asking Congress for a formal declaration of war.

Congress's frustration over its declining control over military conflicts led to the passage of the War Powers Act. When the act was passed in 1973, President Richard Nixon vetoed the bill, although Congress overrode his veto. Since that time, presidents have continued to view the War Powers Act as an attack on the constitutional authority of the commander-in-chief.

U.S. House of Representatives

An invitation to struggle

The president usually sets the country's foreign policy agenda, and Congress must react to it. Nevertheless, since the founding of the nation, the executive and legislative branches have fought each other for control of our foreign policy.

Congressional power and foreign policy

Members of Congress can call for special committee hearings to examine an administration's foreign policy programs. In 1987, the House and Senate held joint hearings to probe the Reagan administration's conduct of foreign policy in Central America.

U.S. House of Representatives

The War Powers Act establishes limits on presidential use of the armed forces. Under the law, the president is allowed to commit U.S. troops to battle for only sixty days. To go beyond that point, the president must persuade Congress to pass a resolution supporting continued use of troops.

Control Spending. The Constitution gives Congress "the power of the purse." Congress has used that power in recent years to influence foreign policy by providing—or refusing to provide—funds for programs supported by the president. For example, during the early 1970s, members of Congress who opposed the war in Vietnam sought to cut off funds for continuation of the war. In the 1980s, after heated debate, Congress alternately approved and rejected President Reagan's requests for money to help support *contra* forces fighting the Sandinista government of Nicaragua.

Foreign aid is one of the most frequent targets of Congress's power to control spending. For many years, senators and representatives have complained about foreign aid, arguing that money given to other countries would be better spent at home. Congress frequently acts to reduce the president's request for foreign aid, which may include both economic aid (projects to help poor countries expand their economies) and military aid (military equipment and training for the armed forces of friendly nations).

Approve Treaties and Confirm Presidential Nominations. The Constitution gives the power to approve treaties and the power to confirm presidential nominations only to the Senate, not to the House of Representatives. Treaties must be ap-

proved by two-thirds of the Senate. However, the right to "advise and consent" to treaties has become less important in recent decades. Presidents have made many executive agreements to avoid having to seek Senate approval for their international agreements.

The Senate rarely rejects a treaty outright. Fewer than two dozen treaties have been defeated in the nation's history. If opposition to a treaty is strong, however, presidents may elect to withdraw them from Senate consideration rather than risk a political defeat.

The Senate also has the power to amend treaties. During the debate over the Panama Canal treaty in 1978, the Senate made important changes in the agreement worked out with the government of Panama, including a provision allowing the United States to use military force to keep the canal open after it was transferred to the Panamanians.

Confirming the president's appointment of foreign policy officials is another power of the Senate. In some cases, members of the Senate may oppose a nomination as a way of criticizing the president's policies.

Pass Laws or Resolutions Stating a Specific Policy. The Constitution grants Congress the power to pass legislation directing the president on foreign policy matters. These can range from simple expressions of congressional opinion (e.g., calling for support of anti-Soviet guerrillas in Afghanistan) to detailed blueprints for foreign aid programs.

Sometimes, however, the main effect of a bill can be to pressure a president to change a policy. In 1985, for example, a majority of both the House and the Senate favored enactment of tough new sanctions against the racial apartheid policies of South Africa's white minority government. President Reagan opposed the sanctions, instead favoring diplomatic pressure to persuade the South Africans to change their policies. Faced with congressional passage of legislation to impose the sanctions, however, Reagan agreed to impose his own set of penalties.

Congressional Decisionmaking

Congress deals with foreign policy issues quite differently from the way the executive branch does. Unlike the executive branch, where one person, the president, has the final authority over all decisions, power in Congress is spread out. Many different congressional committees can affect foreign

policy. Decisionmaking in Congress can be slow and cumbersome, and many members think the legislative process is ill-suited to the rapid changes that take place in international relations.

Two committees—the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee—have formal authority over foreign policy issues. However, the prestige and power of the two panels have lessened in recent years as other committees have asserted influence over important foreign policy issues. For example, the Appropriations Committees in the House and Senate can exercise control over foreign aid programs through their power to write annual funding bills for the government. The Armed Services Committees can influence arms negotiations and decisions to make military commitments to other countries. The House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee can affect international trade by approving legislation to raise or lower import tariffs. The House and Senate Intelligence Committees, which oversee the CIA and other intelligence agencies, can act to block certain covert activities. Members of Congress can also call for special hearings to examine an administration's foreign policy programs. Hearings are sometimes used as a forum to criticize a president or a policy. In 1987, the House and Senate held joint hearings to probe the Reagan administration's conduct of foreign policy in Central America.

Constitutional Powers of Congress: Foreign Policy

- *Declare war*
- *Control spending*
- *Approve treaties and confirm presidential nominations*
- *Pass laws or resolutions stating a specific policy*

Traditionally, members of Congress have tried to put aside party differences and present a common front when dealing with other countries. Members of Congress frequently say that "politics stop at the water's edge." However, each of the 535 members of Congress has his or her own ideas about how foreign policy should be conducted. Individual members of Congress often seek to influence foreign policy by mobilizing public support for their views.

Other Influences on Foreign Policy

The president, top White House advisors, and members of Congress are not the only people who play a role in determining U.S. foreign policy. Many individuals and institutions outside the government are vitally concerned with how the United States acts in the international arena. In many cases, they are able to pressure government officials to adopt their positions on foreign policy. The president and Congress must consider these outside influences in making foreign policy decisions.

Public Opinion

The opinions of the American people play a significant role in affecting how the United States relates to other countries. Public opinion most often is expressed through organized groups of people who seek to *lobby*, or persuade, government officials to support a particular point of view. These groups organize around single issues or broad political philosophies.

For example, some groups support a single issue such as arms control agreements with the Soviet Union. The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), the Council for a Livable World, and similar organizations work to stop development of new weapons. Other organizations work on broader foreign policy issues. The Conservative Caucus lobbies on issues including the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), military and economic aid for the *contra* forces in Nicaragua, and an end to sanctions against South Africa. These interest groups seek to influence foreign policy by educating members of Congress and the public about their views and by contributing time and money to elect officials who share their positions.

Another type of group that affects foreign policy is composed of Americans of other nationalities who feel ties of blood and loyalty to other nations. These ethnic groups sometimes have a major impact on U.S. foreign policy. For example, Greek Americans have been successful a number of times in persuading Congress to reduce U.S. aid to Turkey, which has been involved in a dispute with

Power of the people

The opinions of the American people can play a significant role in affecting how the United States conducts its relations with other nations. In many cases, interest groups and individuals are able to pressure government officials into adopting new policies.

Greece over the island of Cyprus. Jewish Americans have worked to increase U.S. military and economic support for Israel and to prevent the sale of arms to Arab countries. People who emigrated from countries now dominated by communism, such as Cuba or Poland, have advocated greater U.S. opposition to the Soviet Union.

Another type of group that affects foreign policy focuses on economic issues such as international trade. During the early 1980s, American companies producing clothing and other textiles were hurt by overseas competition. After many companies were forced to close and many jobs were lost, textile companies and unions worked together to push legislation curbing clothing imports.

Americans who are not members of special interest organizations can influence foreign policy by voting. In times of crisis, events in other countries can influence the outcome of an election. For example, many people believe that the major reason President Jimmy Carter lost the 1980 election was his inability to secure a quick release of the Americans held hostage in Iran.

While leaders seek policies that are in the long-term best interests of the nation as a whole, they must consider the competing views of many different segments of American society.

The Media

Most people receive information about foreign policy issues from the mass media—television, newspapers, and newsmagazines. For this reason, the way the media cover an issue can influence people's opinions. For the past few decades, American leaders have had to consider how their foreign policy actions will look on television in deciding what policy to pursue.

Because it can present events so vividly, television especially has a strong impact on the way people feel about foreign issues. During the 1960s, television news cameras followed U.S. fighting forces in Vietnam, giving most viewers their first glimpse of what a battle looks and sounds like. The Vietnam War became known as the "living-room war" because it brought the reality of the war home to Americans. Faced with vivid images of death and destruction, many people became convinced that the war was a mistake. They pressed the president and Congress to end U.S. involvement in Vietnam, and American troops eventually were withdrawn.

The media and foreign policy

The media has a strong impact in shaping public opinion about international issues. The countless images of U.S. embassy officials held by Iranian militants in 1979 led many Americans to demand that the president use military force to save the hostages.

Television also played an important role when militants seized the U.S. embassy in Iran in 1979, holding the American members of the embassy staff hostage for more than a year. For months, television provided daily coverage of demonstrations outside the U.S. embassy in which Iranians burned American flags and denounced U.S. interference in the region. These images upset many Americans. Public outcry led President Carter to attempt a dramatic military rescue. Some say that the failure of the mission to free the hostages contributed to Jimmy Carter's defeat in the 1980 presidential election.

Because public opinion about foreign policy is shaped to a great degree by the media, U.S. leaders must consider how their actions will be interpreted by the press. Leaders must keep in mind the impact of media coverage—whether balanced or biased, shallow or thorough—on public opinion in a democracy.

U.S. Allies

U.S. leaders must seek to balance the wishes of allied countries with America's own needs. The U.S. government does not let its allies tell it what to do, but neither does it ignore their opinions. U.S. leaders often consult with foreign leaders before making major foreign policy decisions.

Our most important allies are the large industrial democracies— Canada, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and West Germany. Leaders of these nations meet each year to discuss international issues. Although the United States also has alliances with many other countries, they do not have as much influence on U.S. foreign policy as do these six wealthy and powerful nations.

Sometimes, the United States and its allies do not agree. For example, in April 1986, the United States launched an air strike against Libya, which U.S. leaders believed was responsible for terrorist attacks against Americans in Europe. In consultation with U.S. officials, some of the allied nations argued that the attack would lead to further terrorist incidents. However, President Reagan decided to go ahead with the attack, launching U.S. planes from Great Britain. The French and Spanish governments refused to allow American planes to fly over their nation, which forced the planes to travel a much longer route. After the attack, many Americans were angry at France for failing to support its ally during a time of crisis.

Bill Fitz-Patrick/The White House

U.S. allies and foreign policy

U.S. leaders often consult with their counterparts from other nations before making major foreign policy decisions. U.S. officials attempt to seek a balance between the wishes of allied countries and America's own needs.

One of the most difficult situations for U.S. policymakers is when two allies come into conflict. In 1982, Great Britain and Argentina went to war over British control of the Falklands, a chain of islands in the South Atlantic. Most U.S. policymakers favored supporting Great Britain because of our historically close ties. Others said we should back Argentina, which was aiding in the fight against communist movements in Central America. U.S. officials mounted intensive negotiations between the two nations to avoid a war. But their efforts failed. The American government strongly supported Great Britain in the war that followed, on the grounds that that country had a right to defend its territory against invasion.

Seeking a Balance

U.S. foreign policy is shaped by pressures and viewpoints from many different sources. At the center of our foreign policy decisionmaking process is the president. Presidents have their own views about how the United States should relate to the rest of the world. At the same time, members of Congress, government officials, lobby groups, the media, the voters, and allied nations all have vital interests in how the United States acts in the world. All of these groups seek to influence foreign policy in the way that they think best satisfies both their own interests and the larger national interest. Presidents and their advisors must balance all these competing forces and develop a foreign policy that will be beneficial to the United States as a whole.

Because of the competition among various groups, U.S. foreign policy is constantly changing. Different groups exert more influence at different times, pulling national goals and strategies first one way, then another. Presidential elections are held every four years, and a new president's opinions may be substantially different from the previous president. For these reasons, U.S. foreign policy is not always consistent from issue to issue, region to region, or president to president.

Fluctuations in U.S. Foreign Policy

A newly elected president often develops his or her own initiatives for solving international problems. While the long-term goals of U.S. foreign policy remain fairly constant, the means that an individual president uses to achieve those goals can change from administration to administration. for example:

- In the 1970s, President Richard Nixon stressed mutual cooperation with the Soviet Union in the areas of trade, arms control, and scientific and cultural exchanges. Nixon believed that his policy of *detente* would ease tensions between the two superpowers, thereby reducing the danger of nuclear war. In the 1980s, President Ronald Reagan rejected *detente* in favor of a "get-tough" policy with the Soviets. As part of that policy, Reagan embarked on a massive effort to rebuild the nation's military capability and regain the military strength he believed our nation had lost in the preceding decade. Although both presidents shared the goal of protecting the United States against Soviet aggression, their means for achieving that goal differed dramatically.
- In the mid-1970s, President Jimmy Carter pledged to base his foreign policy on the principles of human rights. As part of that policy, Carter withheld military aid from nations that he believed violated the rights of citizens, including Argentina, Chile, and Ethiopia. When President Reagan was elected in November 1980, he reversed Carter's human rights policies, claiming that human rights represented a "moral crusade" rather than a protection of our nation's security interests.

Such fluctuations in U.S. foreign policy can make it difficult for other nations to deal with the United States. Leaders of other nations often view U.S. foreign policy as being unpredictable, especially from election to election. Sometimes, a foreign government—such as the Soviet Union—will "wait out" a president it has trouble dealing with in the hope that the next president will be more cooperative.

44

The Legacies of
World War II

May 8, 1945. The Grand Alliance proclaims victory over Nazi Germany. People across Europe, the Soviet Union, and the United States rejoice. Spontaneous celebrations spill into the streets of New York, Paris, London, and Moscow. Citizens jubilantly hail the end of a long and costly war. The horrors of Nazi Germany are ended.

The end of World War II gave people many reasons to celebrate. Long years of sacrifice and suffering were over. Yet, in the weeks and months following the end of the war, this euphoric mood was dampened. Confusion and despair lingered as the task of rebuilding began. More than 25 million lives had been lost. Bombs had decimated homes, factories, bridges, and railroads. Thousands of homeless and displaced people searched for food, shelter, and missing relatives. A record-breaking cold winter in Europe shortened the growing season. In some nations, fighting broke out as competing political factions vied for control.

Under these conditions, the world faced the challenge of rebuilding. Leadership for rebuilding fell to the Grand Alliance—Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. The decisions made by the leaders of these three nations would change the way citizens around the world perceive international events and would affect the conduct of foreign policy today.

The East-West Split

Europe 1946

The thousands of bombs dropped during World War II laid to waste much of Europe. The task of rebuilding many European cities was left mostly to the United States.

Throughout history, wars have caused upheavals in the relations among nations. World War II was no exception. International relations are dynamic —ever-changing and shifting—but many of the events that happen today grow out of conflicts that were left unresolved at the end of the war.

During World War II, Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union put aside differences to defeat the advancing armies of German dictator Adolph Hitler. Nazi Germany threatened the very existence of these three nations. An uneasy alliance replaced the ideological separation of communism (the East) and capitalism (the West).

As the war drew to a close, however, the ideological differences reemerged. Leaders from the East and West harbored their own ideas about how Europe should be reconstructed. Cooperation dissolved as each side of the East-West conflict sought to protect and to extend its own influence.

Yalta and the Division of Europe

In February 1945, even before the war had ended, British statesman Winston Churchill, U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, and Soviet leader Josef Stalin met at Yalta, a Soviet resort, to discuss the rebuilding of Europe and the defeat of Japan.

At Yalta, the three leaders agreed that Germany and its capital, Berlin, were to be divided into four occupation zones: the United States, Great Britain, and France were to occupy the western part of Germany, and the Soviet Union, the east. Great Britain wanted France's military and political powers to be fully restored.

The task of liberating Eastern Europe from Nazi control was given to the Soviets because the Soviet Union's army was already firmly in position there. Stalin promised that free elections would be held in all liberated nations in Europe.

The "Big Three" at Yalta

In 1945, British prime minister Winston Churchill, U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt, and Soviet leader Josef Stalin met at the Soviet resort of Yalta to discuss the makeup of the post-war world.

National Archives/Roosevelt Library

Finally, at Yalta, Stalin agreed to join Great Britain and the United States in their war against Japan after the defeat of Nazi Germany. The three leaders also agreed upon a framework for the United Nations.

However, Roosevelt and Churchill left Yalta unsure of Stalin's intentions toward Eastern Europe.

The Dawn of the Nuclear Age

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

War ends in the Far East

With the surrender of Japan to the United States in August 1945, World War II ended in the Pacific, and Americans celebrated in the streets. However, the euphoric mood was soon dampened with the advent of the Cold War.

The war in Europe ended in May 1945, but war continued to rage in the Far East. For the United States, the war was slow and costly. Thousands of lives were lost. The Japanese, fighting for the honor of their nation, refused to surrender.

President Harry Truman, who assumed office after President Roosevelt's death in 1945, was disturbed by battle reports from the Far East. He feared a protracted war and a great loss of American lives. Faced with this dilemma, he made one of the hardest decisions in history—to force the Japanese to surrender by dropping the recently tested atomic bomb.

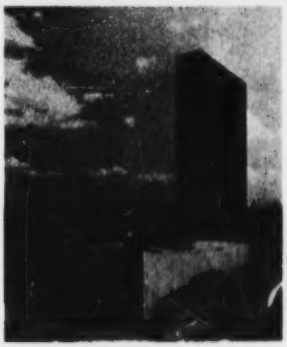
On August 6, 1945, the first atomic bomb exploded over Hiroshima, and 70,000 people were killed instantly. Thousands more died of injuries. When Japan refused to surrender, a second bomb was dropped three days later over Nagasaki.

Reports of the atomic bomb's destructiveness slowly leaked out to the rest of the world. Warfare had entered a new era. The destructive capacity of this weapon knew no boundaries—all nations shared the threat of nuclear destruction. The atomic age had begun.

In 1944, proposals for an international organization to ensure world peace were discussed by representatives from China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States at a conference in Washington, D.C. However, it was not until the spring of 1945 that representatives from fifty nations met in San Francisco to write a charter creating a new international forum. After two months of discussion, delegates unanimously approved the United Nations Charter on June 25, 1945.

The purpose of the United Nations is to:

- maintain international security and peace;



- develop friendly relations among nations;
- cooperate internationally in solving economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and
- provide a forum for nations to work to attain these common ends.

Four decades later, the United Nations has been criticized for its inability to resolve international problems. Critics say that the UN is slow to react to international crises and that many national leaders ignore UN recommendations. For example, seven years after war broke out between Iran and Iraq, the UN Security Council demanded that both nations declare a cease-fire. Iranian officials rejected the proposed ceasefire even before the resolution had been passed.

The Emergence of the Superpowers

When Japan surrendered in August 1945, the United States became the world's dominant power. The United States had the strongest military forces in the world and was the only nation with the atomic bomb. During the war, the United States had been attacked only once—at Pearl Harbor—and therefore did not face the massive job of rebuilding homes, towns, cities, and factories. World War II had brought the Great Depression to an end, and our economy had benefitted tremendously had from the production of war-time materials. Hundreds of thousands of people had gone back to work to support the war effort.

Scientific and technological advances developed during the war could now be used to create a higher standard of living. Improved communications and the beginnings of computer technology—vital for coordination of the war effort—could now link nations together during peacetime. Airplanes developed for the transport of armed forces and materials could now be used to carry people from one continent to another in a matter of hours. Modernized ships could carry more trade goods over longer distances. Advancements in agri-

culture—including the development of improved fertilizer, seeds, pesticides, and farm machinery—held out the promise of growing more food more efficiently.

In contrast to the United States, World War II had devastated the Soviet countryside, and the Soviet Union lost more than 20 million people. Yet Soviet leaders emerged from the war ready to assume the role of a world power. The Soviet government was able to rebuild its economy by drawing on its vast natural resources and by confiscating factories in manufacturing centers in Eastern Europe. In addition, the Soviet Union left its huge army firmly entrenched in Eastern Europe. At the same time, the Soviet government escalated its efforts to build a nuclear arsenal of its own.

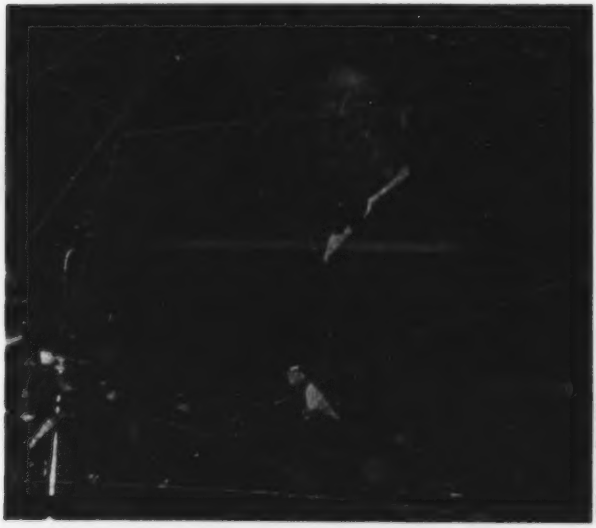
Although World War II had strained the resources of all nations, the vast resources of the United States and the Soviet Union enabled them to recover more quickly. No other nation in the world could rival the economic or military power of these two giants. The United States and the Soviet Union emerged from World War II as *superpowers*.

Yalta Defied: The Alliance Splits

Within a matter of weeks after the liberation of Eastern Europe from Nazi control, the Soviet Union established Communist governments in Poland and Romania. Stalin viewed Eastern Europe as vital to Soviet security. Having been attacked

Churchill laments the division of Europe

By 1946, the Soviet Union had established communist governments in Poland and Romania. In a speech delivered in Fulton, Missouri, British statesman Winston Churchill likened Soviet expansion to an iron curtain descending across the continent of Europe.



by the Germans twice in thirty years, Soviet leaders sought to set up a "buffer zone" separating Germany from the Soviet Union.

By 1946, cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union was becoming impossible. Stalin continued his effort to consolidate control over Eastern Europe. The Soviet government launched a bitter propaganda campaign against the United States in which the United States and its allies were portrayed as enemies of the Soviet people.

President Truman watched the Soviet expansion with frustration. Although Western leaders wanted to prevent the spread of communism and Soviet influence in Western Europe, no one wanted another war. At a speech delivered in Fulton, Missouri, Winston Churchill, with Truman at his side, declared, "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent."

The Cold War—a war fought with words, not bullets—had begun. Ideology—communism versus capitalism—would dominate international affairs through the present.

The Truman Doctrine

U.S. Army

Harry Truman

In 1947, President Truman asked Congress to provide aid to Greece and Turkey in their fight against communism. This policy of granting economic and military aid to nations threatened by a communist revolution was known as the Truman Doctrine.

In the years following the war, Europe suffered from a severe economic slump. There were shortages in food, housing, and jobs. Governments did not have the resources to provide people with the help they so desperately needed. In this charged political climate, Communist parties—many of them active in war-time resistance movements—threatened to take control.

In 1947, communist and democratic factions in Greece and Turkey were involved in a civil war. Great Britain had been supporting the democratic forces in both nations, but could no longer afford to continue to sustain them. Fearing that a communist victory in either of these nations would lead to the eventual fall of other nations in Western Europe to communist control, President Truman stepped in.

Truman asked Congress to provide aid to Greece and Turkey in their fight against communism. In a speech before Congress, Truman asserted, "It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." This policy of granting aid to stop the spread of communism came to be known as the *Truman Doctrine*,

or containment. Congress granted $400 million in military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. This action marked a dramatic change in the way the United States perceived its national security.

The Marshall Plan

As part of the U.S. government's commitment to rebuilding Europe, the United States announced the Marshall Plan in 1948. This program provided loans and other types of economic assistance to aid European nations in their economic recovery. In announcing the plan, Secretary of State George Marshall stated, "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

At first, the Soviets seemed interested in participating in the Marshall Plan, but when Communists were ousted from power in Italy and France, the Soviets considered the Marshall Plan to be anti-Communist. Nations in Eastern Europe, also initially interested, were angrily warned by Stalin not to participate. Instead, the Soviet Union and its satellites formed *Cominform* to coordinate the activities of the European Communist parties, including those of France and Italy. The Soviet Council for Mutual Aid was also established to assist in the Eastern European recovery.

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

George Marshall

In 1948, the United States announced a $12.5 billion economic and military aid program to assist Europe in its post-war recovery. Called the Marshall Plan, Secretary of State George Marshall declared that it was "directed . . . against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

Through the Marshall Plan, the United States provided $12.5 billion in economic and military aid to Western Europe. By 1951, industrial output in Europe exceeded its 1938 rate by 40 percent. The Marshall Plan helped to reduce the power of Communist parties in Western Europe by strengthening existing governments.

With the establishment of these two policy initiatives, the division of Europe became more pronounced. Western Europe became politically and economically connected to the United States, and Eastern Europe became politically and economically integrated with the Soviet Union.

Berlin and the Division of Germany

The Soviet government continued to feel threatened by Germany. Soviet leaders wanted to prevent the restoration of German sovereignty and a resurgence of German military power. In addition, the presence of U.S. troops in West Berlin—located 120 miles inside East Germany—caused concern. In 1948, the Soviet army blockaded all land trans-

The Berlin blockade

After the Soviet Union blockaded all land transportation into Berlin, the United States responded by airlifting millions of tons of food and coal into the city. Eventually, the division of Berlin became permanent with the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961.

UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

portation into Berlin. The United States responded by airlifting millions of tons of food and coal into the city.

For a year, the two superpowers remained at a standstill. The blockade ended through negotiations, but Germany remained divided. In July 1948, the United States announced the formation of the Federal Republic of Germany. In October, the Soviets declared East Germany to be the new German Democratic Republic. The division of Germany, and of Europe, was complete.

The Berlin Wall

On the morning of August 13, 1961, the citizens of Berlin awoke to find East German soldiers unraveling barbed wire down the middle of streets. Within a few days, the barrier of wire was replaced with a more permanent structure of brick and concrete. When it was completed, the 12-foot-high wall wound its way through the center of Berlin and became a grim reminder of the division of Germany into East and West.

German Information Agency

The communist government of East Germany built the wall to prevent East Germans from emigrating to the West. At least 74 people have been killed trying to cross the wall, and another 110 have been killed at other points along the border separating East and West Germany.

Today, the wall remains a symbol of the deep ideological differences that separate democratic and communist governments. Ignoring protests from East German officials, West Berliners continue to paint the wall with slogans and graffiti—such as "Admission at Your Own Risk" or "Open Sesame." In 1987, President Reagan challenged Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to "open this gate . . . tear down this wall."

In October 1962, the world came closer to nuclear war than at any other time before or since. The United States discovered that the Soviet Union secretly had installed nuclear missiles in Cuba. For seven days, the world waited as President John F. Kennedy and Soviet Premier Nikita Khruschev engaged in tense negotiations. "These

actions cannot be accepted by this country if our courage and commitments are ever to be trusted again, by either friend or foe," Kennedy warned. Finally, the Soviets agreed to withdraw the missiles.

The scare of the Cuban Missile Crisis eventually led to a "thaw" in the Cold War, and the following year the United States and the Soviet Union signed a treaty limiting tests of nuclear weapons.

Communism in China

The fall of China to communist rule in 1949 deeply affected the United States. Supported by the Soviet Union, Chinese communist leader Mao Zedong's forces were able to defeat the nationalist forces of General Chiang Kai Shek, supported by the United States. The United States perceived Mao's victory as an extension of Soviet influence in the Far East.

The fear of further communist expansion in the Far East prompted a change in how the United States viewed Japan. Originally, the United States wanted to prevent Japan from rearming after the war. But now, with Soviet influence spreading, American policymakers began to see the advantages of developing a strong American ally in the region. The United States and Japan signed a treaty granting Japan full sovereignty and an agreement for stationing U.S. troops on Japanese soil.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact

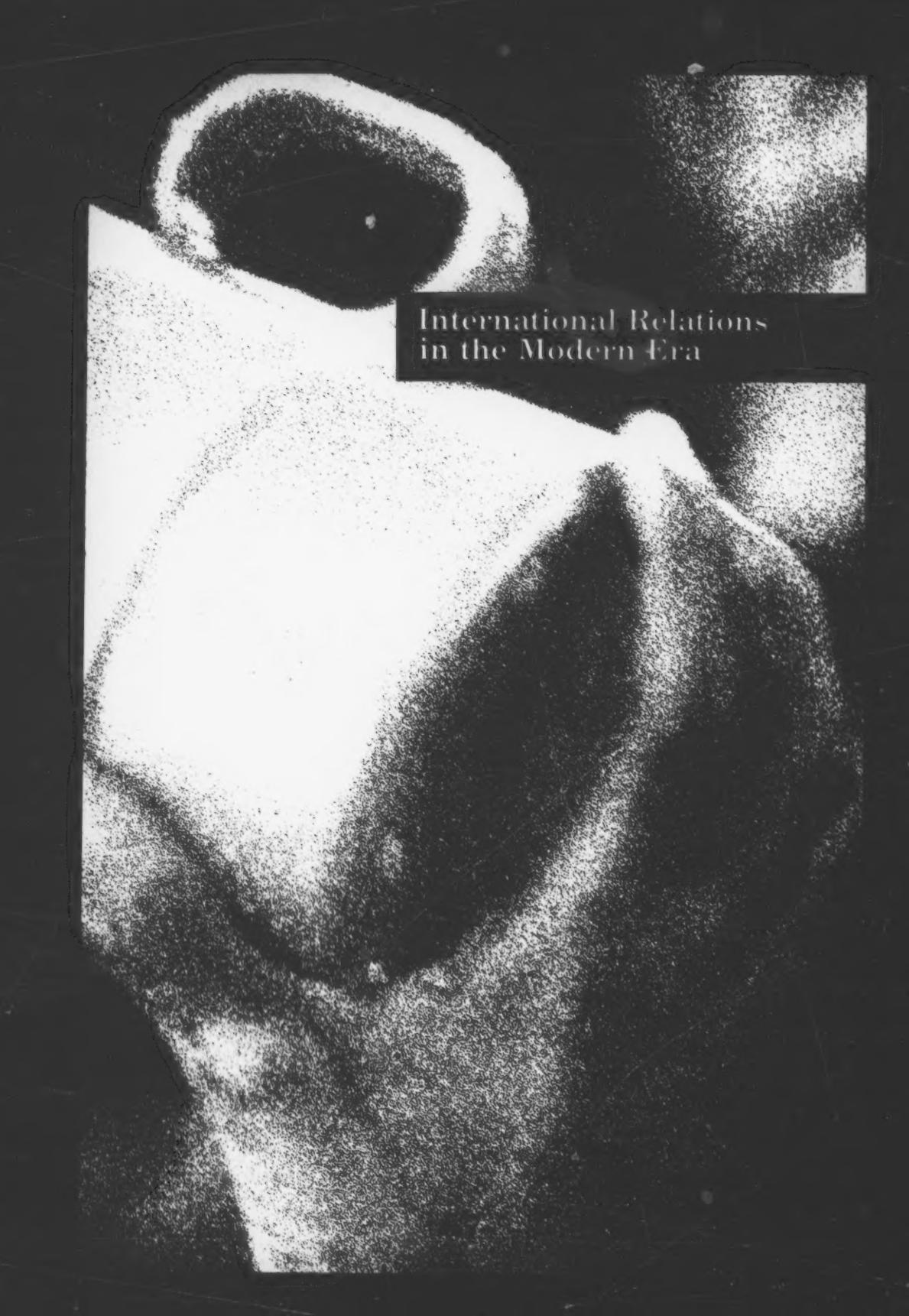
Fear of the Soviet army in Eastern Europe prompted the United States and the nations of Western Europe to discuss a regional defense agreement to deter Soviet aggression. In April 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was established. Under the terms of the agreement, an attack on one member nation would be considered an attack against all. The initial NATO members were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and the United States. In 1952, Greece and Turkey joined; West Germany became the fifteenth member in 1955. Spain joined NATO in 1982.

The Division of Europe

The Warsaw Pact, a counter-alliance to NATO, was formed in 1955. Eight Eastern European nations joined: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union. (Albania left the Pact in 1968.)

By 1955, both superpowers possessed powerful military forces and an arsenal of nuclear weapons. In Europe, the American and Soviet *spheres of influence* were clearly defined: the United States considered the nations of Western Europe its allies; and the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe. Elsewhere in the world, however, loyalties were not so clearly defined. As the United States and the Soviet Union competed for power and influence, the East-West conflict spilled into other areas of the world.

Today, the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union continues to affect every nation in the world. These two adversaries control the world's most powerful military forces, with the capability of destroying all life on this planet. Yet they continue to compete for power and influence around the globe. And few nations can act independently of the superpowers.


International Relations
in the Modern Era

The post-war era found the balance of power in the world changed dramatically. European nations, once considered powerful, lay devastated. A belief in self-determination took root in the colonies, and new nations were carved out of what had once been vast colonial empires. The United Nations was established as an organization that would resolve future conflicts through words, not bullets. Citizens and leaders alike hoped that they were on the threshold of a new world in which all nations would coexist peacefully.

However, the dream of a new world order was quickly destroyed. The United States and the Soviet Union found themselves embroiled in a bitter cold war. The competition for allies between the East and the West soon dominated events in the Third World. World trade became an integral part of domestic economies. Overshadowing these developments was the threat of nuclear annihilation.

This chapter address three issues that continue to affect international relations today: the problems of developing nations, the stability of the international economy, and the spread of nuclear weapons. These concerns transcend the ideological and political boundaries of all nations.

The Emergence of the Third World

The world that evolved after World War II was dominated by the two superpowers, but for most of the world's people, economic development was a more central concern than superpower rivalry. Prior to the war, most of the world was controlled by European colonial powers, including France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain.

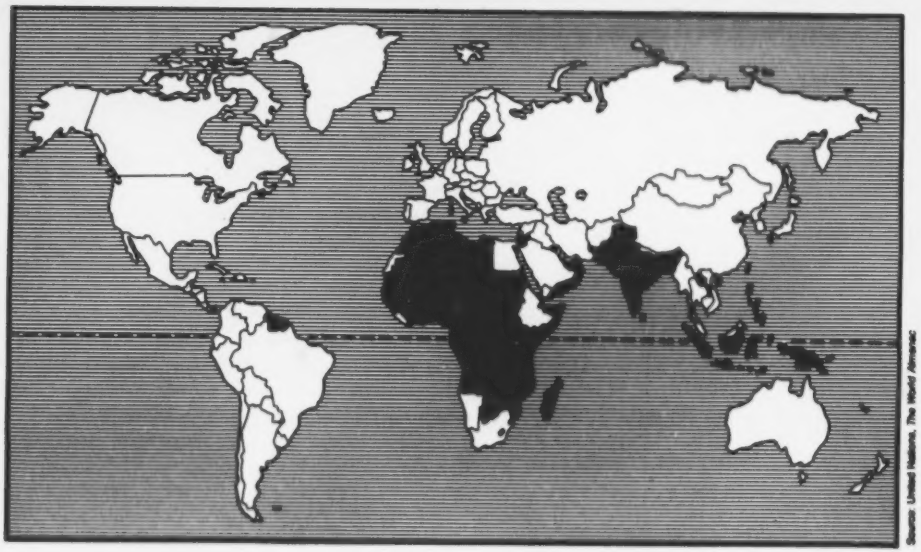
The concept of a "Third World" came from French writer Alfred Sauvy, who first used the term in 1952 to describe those nations that were breaking away from their colonial origins. The "First World" is composed of the Western democracies, and the "Second World" is composed of the Soviet Union and other communist nations. Some analysts, seeking to simplify the issue, refer to the North (the industrialized nations) and the South (the underdeveloped nations). Although these terms oversimplify the issue, they do convey the sense of a world in which different nations are in different stages of economic development.

Self-Determination in the Post-War Era

In August 1941, Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt met to discuss a common defense against German and Japanese aggression. As part of these talks, the two leaders also issued their plan for world peace, which came to be known as the Atlantic Charter. In the Atlantic Charter, Churchill and Roosevelt deplored the territorial aggrandizement of many European powers and affirmed the right of *self-determination*, that is, the right of all people to choose their own form of government. The concept of self-determination became a guiding force in the post-war era.

In 1945, only four African nations were independent—Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, and South Africa. The rest of Africa was ruled by foreign powers.

Nations That Have Achieved Independence Since 1945



Much of Asia—including Burma, Ceylon, India, and Nepal—was ruled by Britain. In South America and the Caribbean, Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands maintained colonies.

With the creation of the United Nations (UN) in 1945, the movement toward liberation from colonial powers began. A special office of the UN, the Trusteeship Council, was created to assist colonies in their transition from colony to independent nation.

Some colonies were granted independence immediately after the war. However, not all colonial powers were willing to give up their territories so easily. For example, Portugal refused to let go of its colonies until the 1970s. Wars of liberation had to be fought to bring the downfall of colonial rule in many nations. Since 1945, more than seventy-five nations have become independent.

But independence did not solve the problems of the former colonies. In many of the new nations, people did not necessarily share a common history, common culture, or common language. Their borders had been determined by colonial powers. Civil wars often erupted as different factions vied for control.

The superpowers saw in these new nations a chance for extending their influence. Many of the nations controlled strategic minerals or vital resources. In the past three decades, both super-

powers have been involved in civil wars in emerging nations including Korea, Vietnam, Angola, and Nicaragua. The Soviet Union has aided communist factions, while the United States has aided anti-communist factions. Many people fear that superpower involvement in these regional wars could escalate into a direct confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Nonaligned Movement

But many newly emerging nations are more interested in developing their economies than in becoming embroiled in the East-West conflict. Instead of choosing between the two superpowers, these nations wish to focus on their own development needs. To separate themselves from both the East and West, UN representatives from a number of nations formed the *Group of 77*. Established in 1964, the Group of 77 consider themselves to be *nonaligned* to either the First or Second Worlds. Today, more than 120 nations consider themselves part of the Group of 77.

Conditions in the South

Living in the Third World

More than one billion people live in developing countries. Roads are often unpaved, plumbing and electricity are scarce, proper health care is virtually nonexistent, and food supplies are woefully inadequate.

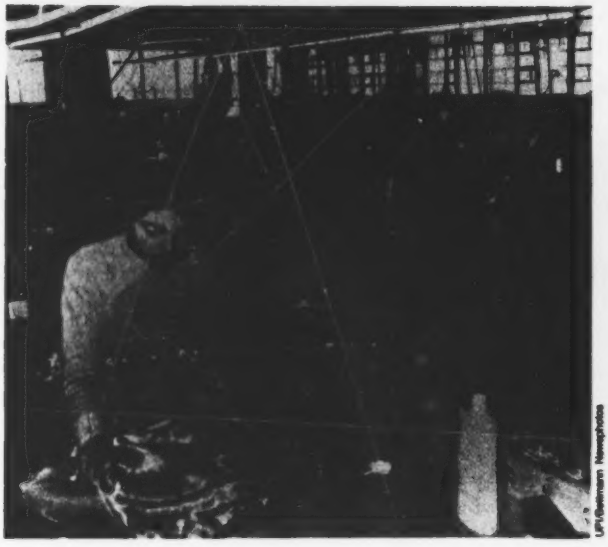
More than 1 billion people live in conditions unimaginable to most Americans. In developing countries, most roads are unpaved. Few villages have plumbing and electricity. Farming is still done with the most basic tools and techniques, and there is little industry. Health standards are very low, leading to a short life span, rampant disease, and a high rate of infant mortality. Often more than 75 percent of the population cannot read or write. In most countries, land and income are unequally distributed. Average incomes in Third World countries are often less than $300 per year, although a small percentage of people enjoy considerable wealth.

The poor are also hungry. Between 13 million and 18 million people die from hunger every year—more than 35,000 people a day. According to population experts, as many as 1 billion people suffer from *undernourishment* (a lack of protein and calories), *malnutrition* (a lack of proper nutrients), or other forms of hunger. In the 1950s, one out of every fifteen people in the world suffered from malnutrition; today that rate has doubled, largely because of the continuing growth of the world population.

In the last five years, the nations of northern Africa have suffered from the worst drought and famine of this century. Some experts predict that

Industrialization: cure or curse?

Leaders of Third World nations often see industrialization as the cure to poverty. However, many nations cannot pay off the massive loans needed to finance industrial development and have fallen deeply into debt.



UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

the African continent will suffer from increasingly severe food shortages for years to come and that the shortages could eventually affect 100 million to 150 million people.

Conditions like famine and disease may have seemed inevitable a hundred years ago, but in an age of modern technological advancement, they are no longer acceptable. Third World governments want to bring their nations into the twentieth century by providing food, shelter, and education.

New International Economic Order

The traditional pattern of world trade has helped to keep southern nations impoverished. Historically, the South has exported raw materials and cash crops to the North, and the North in turn has exported manufactured products and technology to the South. This pattern has favored the North because, in general, the prices of raw materials and food have increased more slowly than have those of manufactured products and technology.

The economic and development problems of Third World nations—and what they see as the unfairness of world trade—have led the Group of 77 to call for a New International Economic Order (NIEO). According to supporters, the NIEO would redistribute the world's wealth on a more equitable basis and allow the countries of the South to raise their standard of living. The NIEO calls for: (1) an increase in foreign aid for industrial development in Third World nations; (2) an increase in the price that Third World nations receive for their exports;

and (3) the provision of low-interest development loans without political conditions attached.

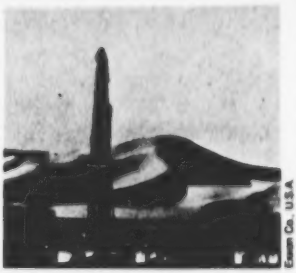
The Group of 77 argues that because most Third World nations were colonized by other powers, they were not allowed to develop independent economies. The Group of 77 says that it is now time for the industrialized nations to provide the Third World with the means to make them equal with the rest of the world.

Although northern countries have made some concessions to the South, most still consider the demands of the Third World unreasonable and unjustified. Most northern leaders claim that global political and economic systems have not caused the problems experienced by Third World nations. Instead, they say that poor economic planning such as rapid industrialization is to blame in some Third World nations.

During the 1970s, many poor countries borrowed billions of dollars from American and European banks to finance industrial development. Faced with high interest rates, these nations have been unable to pay off their loans and have fallen deeply into debt. This large debt has sharply curtailed their ability to provide basic services for their people and to develop self-sufficient economies. A default by a Third World country on a major loan could threaten the health of the international banking system.

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)

Not all nations in the Third World are poor. In 1960, thirteen oil-producing nations formed the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries—or OPEC—to begin exerting control over the price and supply of oil in the world market. In one 12-month period, the price of a barrel of oil quadrupled from $3 in 1973 to more than $12 in 1974. Because OPEC nations control more than half of the world's oil reserves, they were able to capitalize on an increase in demand from industrialized nations.



For the most part, OPEC has brought success to member nations. Nearly all OPEC members have benefitted from the influx of "petro-dollars" into their national treasuries. Most OPEC leaders have used the funds to finance industrial and public works projects, improve educational and health care facilities, and invest in overseas real estate and business ventures.

World Economy

In the modern world, no nation acts in isolation. All nations depend on one another for goods and services. Therefore, decisions made by one nation about its industrial output or agricultural production can affect nations around the world. This concept, called *interdependence*, guides the economic relations of all nations in today's world. The economic health of one nation is intertwined with many others.

Trade: The Global Link

Trade between nations has been going on for thousands of years. Even when a nation's standard of living was primitive enough not to require international trade, people still sought spices, textiles, and minerals that could enhance the quality of their lives.

Today, few nations can satisfy all of their people's needs—or desires—with the resources available within their own borders. Thus, international trade is a way for a nation to obtain goods that would be uneconomical or impossible for that nation to produce. World trade is also an important way for a nation to increase its supply of money and jobs. Through trade, the economies of nations grow faster than they would if all goods and services were produced for just their people.

An interdependent world economy

Traders on the floor of the Tokyo Stock Exchange jostle one another to sell off stocks in reaction to a plunge in prices on Wall Street. In an interdependent world economy, the economic health of one nation is intertwined with many others.

Reuters/Bettmann Newsphotos

Encouraging World Trade

In the past four decades, leaders of the international community have come to recognize that the health of one nation's economy can affect the health of economies of other nations. To encourage world trade, leaders meet periodically to discuss economic issues and negotiate agreements on the conduct of trade. They recognize that it is in the interest of all nations to promote a stable world economy.

Bretton Woods

Toward the end of World War II, world leaders began to develop the international economic system that exists today. In 1944 forty-four Western nations met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to create a new monetary system. Under the system developed at Bretton Woods, exchange rates between foreign currencies were *fixed* against the value of the American dollar. In 1971, the Bretton Woods system was reformed into a *floating* exchange system in which the value of currencies relative to one another are free to change daily. In a floating exchange system, the value of a country's currency reflects the health of its economy. Adopting guidelines on currency exchange rates helps to stabilize international trade.

International Monetary Fund

The forty-four countries that participated in the Bretton Woods Conference also agreed to establish the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The major purpose of the IMF is to lend money to nations in need of financial assistance. The IMF now has 148 member countries.

World Bank

The Bretton Woods Conference proposed the creation of another organization, the World Bank, to assist in financing post-war reconstruction projects and to support less developed nations in their search for credit. Money for loans was to come either from private sources or from the World Bank itself.

GATT

In 1947, shortly after establishing the Bretton Woods system, eighty-three nations signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which established a code of conduct for trading nations. GATT provides an international forum for nations to discuss trade issues such as tariffs, quotas, and other forms of economic protectionism.

Pepsi in the USSR

Trade can be an essential part of a nation's foreign policy. Recently, increased trade between the United States and the Soviet Union has helped to reduce the likelihood of military conflict while bringing many American goods—such as Pepsi-Cola—to the Soviet Union.

Economic Summits

In 1975, the leaders of the seven leading non-Communist countries (Canada, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, West Germany, and the United States) met for an economic summit to coordinate policies and seek solutions to common problems. The economic summit has since become an annual event. Over the years, these Western leaders have sought to protect their manufacturing industries against increasing foreign competition.

Free Trade versus Protectionism

The economic landscape has changed considerably in the last twenty years. The United States and Western Europe, once considered the economic giants of the world, are increasingly being chal-

lenged by nations that were once considered non-competitive, such as Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan. Manufacturing industries in these nations are now threatening the industrial economies of the West. A conflict has arisen between those nations that support free trade—as established by Bretton Woods, GATT, and other international accords—and those nations that believe that their domestic industries should be protected, even if it means imposing tariffs, quotas, or other trade barriers.

Nations that support free trade, or trade without restrictions, believe that consumer demand, rather than government regulation, should determine which products are sold in a country and at what price. Supporters of free trade argue that restrictions on trade—such as tariffs and quotas—can cause the price of imported goods to increase. In the early 1980s, for example, when the United States and Japan agreed to restrict the number of Japanese-made automobiles that could be imported, the price of those cars rose dramatically. Such price increases reflect government inter-

Diversity Among the World's People

Conducting business in foreign countries requires an understanding of the customs and traditions of different cultures. For example, people in Taiwan consider it impolite to begin business negotiations before they have had an opportunity to get to know their potential business partners. They prefer to eat, drink, and talk with their clients before discussing business deals.

When dining in China, if you leave some food on your plate, the cook will feel insulted, believing that you did not like the food. But if you eat everything on your plate, the cook will also feel insulted, believing that he or she did not give you enough to eat. In Arab

cultures, people consider it offensive if a person displays the bottom of his or her shoes. Representatives from other nations must be aware of this fact when visiting Arab countries.

In today's interdependent world, gaining knowledge of and understanding different cultures is essential if international businesspersons and foreign diplomats wish to be successful.

ference rather than consumer demand, which alone should determine the price of goods and services. However, for free trade to operate fairly, all nations must abide by the same rules.

Protectionists believe that a nation's primary responsibility is to protect its domestic industries from foreign competition. Protectionists view tariffs, quotas, and other trade barriers as necessary tools to limit the number of foreign goods that enter a country so that consumer demand for domestic goods increases and thereby keeps domestic industries fully employed. Protectionists believe that government regulation can preserve jobs in domestic industries, thereby protecting economic stability. In recent years, Japan has been severely criticized for its strict protectionist policies that prevent many foreign-made products from entering the country.

Trade and Foreign Policy

Trade can be an essential part of a nation's foreign policy. Nations use trade to promote domestic economic growth, but they can also use trade as a tool to attain a foreign policy goal. For example, trade was a key element of *detente*, the goal of which was to ease tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. President Richard Nixon believed that an increase in trade between the superpowers would increase their sense of interdependence, and thereby decrease the likelihood of military conflict.

Trade can also be used to influence a nation to change a particular policy. For example, many nations have imposed trade sanctions against South Africa in an attempt to change that country's racial policies. Many world leaders believe that trade sanctions might force the white minority government in South Africa to grant political rights to blacks.

Protectionist trade barriers can create ill will among nations. The imposition of tariffs and quotas by one nation can lead to retaliation by another. In today's world, however, assuring the economic well-being of other nations is within the national interest of most others. Economic well-being is usually associated with political stability, and a politically stable nation is a more predictable trading partner. Generally, the more nations trade with one another, the greater the chance that they will try to avoid conflict in other areas.

One of the first major achievements of the United Nations (UN) was the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The declaration sets a universal standard for the rights of all human beings, regardless of race, sex, religion, or system of beliefs, and it calls upon all nations to ensure that their governments honor this code of conduct. Among the civil and political rights addressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are:

- the right to life, liberty, and security of person;
- the right to a fair trial;
- freedom of opinion, thought, and religion;
- freedom from slavery and servitude; and
- freedom from torture and cruel punishment.

The Universal Declaration also establishes economic, social, and cultural rights to which all people are entitled:

- the right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being;
- the right to education; and
- the right to work.

Unfortunately, not all nations abide by the UN human rights accords. Around the world, political dissidents continue to be arrested, tortured, and in some cases executed. Organizations such as Amnesty International, formed in 1961, monitor human rights abuses in an attempt to ensure that all governments treat their citizens fairly and equitably.

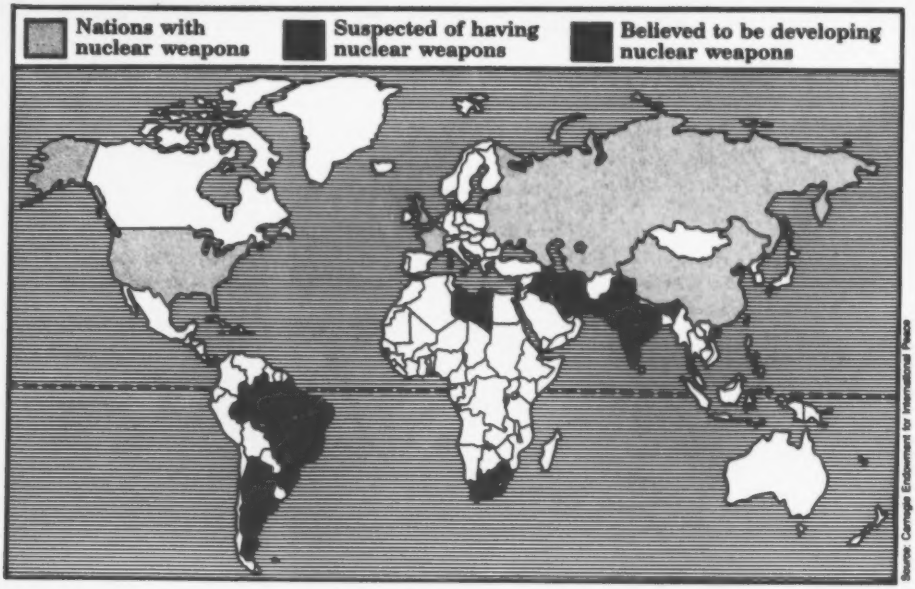
The Nuclear Age

At the end of World War II, the United States was the only nation that had built an atomic weapon. U.S. leaders believed that it would take ten to twenty years for another nation to develop a nuclear weapon, but while the United States viewed the atomic bomb as the key to its security, other nations perceived the bomb as a threat to theirs. In 1949, the Soviet Union tested their first atomic bomb, and Great Britain tested a bomb in 1952. The nuclear age had begun.

Stopping the Spread of Nuclear Weapons

Faced with the possibility of nuclear weapons spreading throughout the world, the United States sought to limit the number of nations that possessed nuclear technology. In 1953, the United States designed a program to promote the peaceful uses of nuclear technology in such areas as energy production and medical research. Sponsored

The Spread of Nuclear Weapons


Nations with nuclear weapons
Suspected of having nuclear weapons
Believed to be developing nuclear weapons
Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

through the United Nations, the program, called "Atoms for Peace," forbade participating nations from using nuclear technology to make weapons. Thirty nations agreed to the terms of this agreement. Nevertheless, in the early 1960s, both France and China detonated atomic bombs.

Treaty of Tlatelolco (1967)

To prevent the spread of nuclear weapons in the Western Hemisphere, the United States and most of the nations of Latin America negotiated one of the first major nonproliferation agreements, the Treaty of Tlatelolco, in 1967. The purpose of the treaty was to make Latin America a "nuclear-free zone." Individual Latin American countries agreed not to test, manufacture, or acquire nuclear weapons. Cuba and Argentina have not officially ratified the treaty, and Chile and Brazil are not abiding by the treaty because of the holdouts.

Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (1968)

After many years of debate and negotiations, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved a treaty intended to halt the spread of nuclear weapons and promote peaceful uses of nuclear power. Although more than 125 nations have signed the treaty, key countries such as Argentina, Brazil, China, France, India, Israel, Pakistan, and South Africa have not.

Why Do Nations Want Nuclear Weapons?

Despite efforts by the international community to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, the number of nations that now possess nuclear weapons technology has increased in the past thirteen years. In 1974, India exploded a nuclear device for what it called "peaceful purposes." Ten years later, Argentina announced that it had built a plant capable of building nuclear weapons. Experts predict that Brazil, Iraq, Israel, Libya, Pakistan, and South Africa may have nuclear bombs within ten years.

The problem with trying to regulate nuclear weapons on an international scale is that many countries believe that nuclear weapons will improve their national security. Faced with larger, stronger, and sometimes nuclear-armed adversaries, many countries believe that possession of nuclear weapons will protect them against attack. Nations already involved in armed conflicts believe that nuclear weapons can tip the balance of power in their favor. Finally, other nations desire the power and prestige that come from developing a nuclear arsenal.

The Dangers of the Arms Race

U.S. Navy

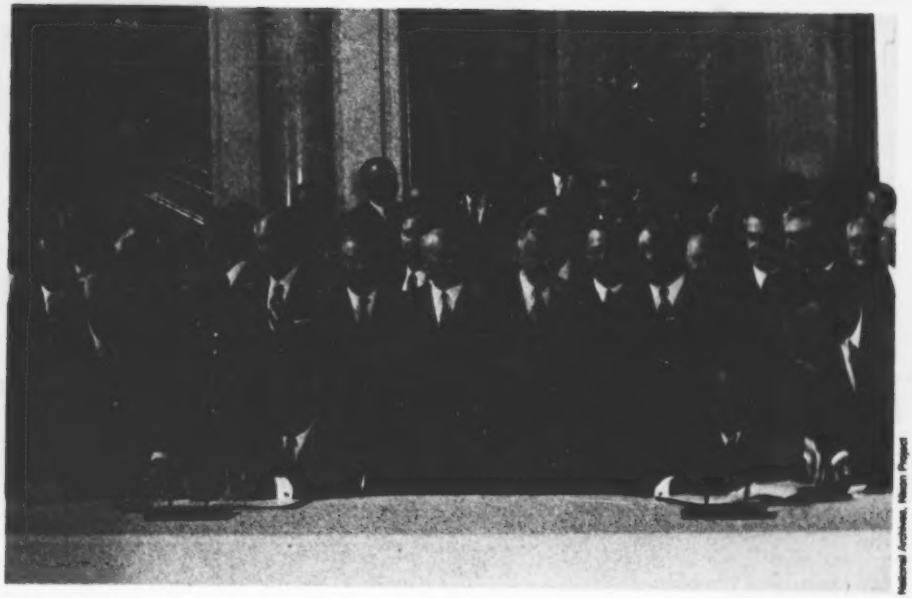
The threat of the nuclear age

Today, more than a dozen nations have, or are capable of building, nuclear bombs. As the spread of nuclear technology continues, the danger that these powerful weapons will be used increases.

The United States and the Soviet Union remain at the center of the race for nuclear arms. Together, they possess some 50,000 nuclear warheads—more than enough to destroy our planet many times over. Since the 1960s, the United States and the Soviet Union have pursued a strategy called *nuclear deterrence*. Under this strategy, neither nation could launch a nuclear attack without being destroyed by the other. However, many experts believe that nuclear war is still possible. The few arms-control agreements that have been signed by the superpowers have not resolved the underlying conflicts between the United States and the Soviet Union. Moreover, the technology used to monitor nuclear weapons is not foolproof. For example, a computer error could accidentally launch nuclear missiles.

Currently, the United States is conducting research into a space-based defense program that, according to supporters, will "make nuclear weapons obsolete." However, the Soviet Union is opposed to what they view as an extension of the arms race into outer space. Space-based nuclear defense systems remain a stumbling block in arms control negotiations.

Arms Control Agreements



National Archives, Nixon Project

In the 1960s, U.S. and Soviet leaders realized that they had a responsibility to try to control the spiraling arms race. Leaders of both nations came to realize that preventing nuclear war was in the national interest of both nations. Both nations have signed the following agreements.

- Limited Test Ban Treaty, 1963—Banned the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water. Also prohibited underground nuclear explosions if they produced radioactive debris outside the nation conducting the test.
- "Hot Line" Agreement of 1963—Established a direct communications link between Washington, D.C., and Moscow in an attempt to lessen the danger of a war breaking out from a computer error or misunderstanding. The "hot line" was modernized in 1971 to include satellite communication.
- Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT I), 1972—Limited the number of nuclear weapons that the United States and the Soviet Union could *deploy*, or station. Also limited the number of antiballistic missile (ABM) sites (systems designed to destroy enemy missiles before they reach their targets).
- Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT II), 1979—Limited the number of (1) warheads on existing missiles, (2) bombers with long-range cruise missiles, (3) missiles with more than one nuclear warhead, and (4) missile launch vehicles. Also banned the testing or deploying of any new long-range missiles. Although the treaty was signed by U.S. and Soviet leaders, it was never approved by the U.S. Senate.

Today, arms control continues to be a major issue confronting the United States and the Soviet Union.

Energy or bombs?

The fuel from nuclear reactors—designed to produce electricity—can be diverted to reprocessing plants to make nuclear bombs. Many experts believe that once a country has a nuclear reactor, they are on their first step toward building nuclear weapons.

Photo courtesy of U.S. Council for Energy Awareness

In addition to the United States and the Soviet Union, many other nations have developed or are seeking to develop nuclear weapons as well. Many of these countries have been fighting with their neighbors for years, and some are allied with one of the superpowers. Some experts fear that a regional conflict—in the Middle East, southern Africa, or Central America, for example—could escalate into a major war involving the Soviet Union and the United States. In addition, some nations seeking nuclear weapons are ruled by unstable governments that might resort to any means to stay in power.

World leaders are also concerned that the spread of nuclear arms may increase the chance that a terrorist group may obtain a nuclear weapon. For example, if terrorists had a nuclear device, millions of people could be killed. Although security is tight at weapon factories, fuel has turned up missing in the past. In 1982, the United States discovered that it could not account for 55.6 pounds of plutonium (less than five pounds are needed to create a small bomb). And in 1977, the United States revealed that more than 8,000 pounds of weapon-grade fuel had disappeared since the 1940s. Many experts fear that some of this fuel may have been diverted to terrorist groups.

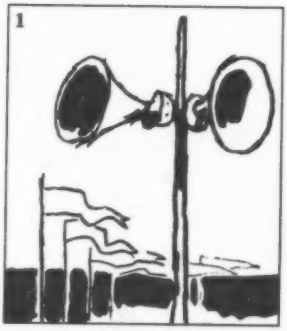
In a sense, conventional warfare is becoming obsolete in the nuclear age. As more nations join the nuclear "club," the danger that these powerful weapons will be used increases. Governments must find other ways—besides armed conflict—to resolve international disputes. In the nuclear era, the ultimate goal of every government's foreign policy must be to ensure the survival of the planet.

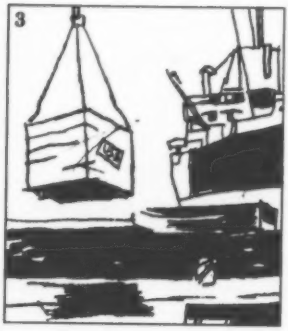
Tools of Foreign Policy

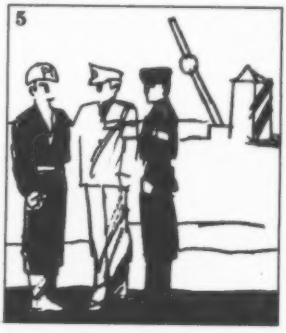
Nations possess an array of tools for carrying out their foreign policy goals. Diplomacy, foreign aid, and military intervention are all tools of foreign policy. Some tools—even though they do not directly involve the military—are so severe that they are considered an equivalent of war. When formulating foreign policy, a nation's leaders must consider not only their own goals, but also how other countries will be affected. An effective leader anticipates the reaction of other nations and uses the foreign policy tools that are appropriate to the situation.

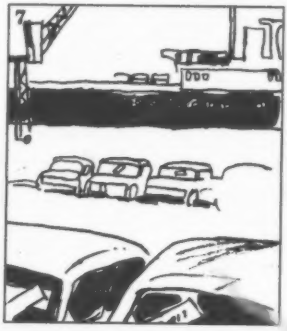
Tools of Foreign Policy

1 Propaganda
2 Diplomacy
3 Trade Relations
4 Foreign Aid
5 Alliances
6 International and Regional Organizations
7 Boycotts and Sanctions
8 Military Force









Salvador Bru

69 *Tools of Foreign Policy*

Propaganda

Propaganda is one-sided or exaggerated information that is used by a nation to gain support, both nationally and internationally, for its policies or to discredit the policies of an adversary. Propaganda is spread through newspapers, books, radio and television broadcasts, or simply through word of mouth. Throughout history, propaganda has been used extensively to influence public opinion.

Diplomacy

Diplomatic relations are the formal contacts between national governments. Most of the business between nations is conducted through discussions and conferences involving diplomats. Diplomats arrange trade and shipping agreements, and serve as resource people for visiting citizens. To avoid unnecessary disagreements, diplomacy is conducted under strict international rules and conventions.

Ambassadors are the highest ranking diplomats. Their job is to represent the opinions and interests of their country to the host government and to report on the major developments in the host country.

Diplomatic Recognition

By establishing diplomatic relations, one nation *recognizes*, or accepts, the right of another government to represent its people. Nations use diplomatic recognition to express approval or disapproval of a new government. If a nation approves of a new government, it will quickly recognize the government and exchange ambassadors. If a nation disapproves of a new government, it can withhold diplomatic recognition and therefore, will not initiate formal relations.

Cultural and Scientific Exchanges

When nations wish to extend goodwill to each other, they might arrange cultural and scientific exchanges. For example, groups of scientists travel from one nation to another to share information; art exhibits, dance troupes, and musicians provide exposure of different cultures to nations around the world.

When tensions between nations flare, cultural and scientific exchanges are often the first agreements to be cancelled.

Negotiations and Treaties

When conflicts arise between two or more nations, they usually hold talks and conferences to try to resolve the problem peacefully. *Treaties* are formal agreements between two or more nations on issues of mutual concern. *Bilateral treaties* are treaties signed by two nations. *Multilateral treaties* are treaties signed by three or more nations.

Treaties form the basis of international law and cover a variety of issues including the handling of international mail, coordination of international air traffic, regulation of international shipping, and cooperation on plans to prevent airplane hijackings.

Summit Meetings

Most negotiations among nations are conducted by high-ranking diplomats and other officials. However, sometimes a problem is so important that heads of state need to talk face to face. Meetings between heads of state are called *summit meetings*. Summit meetings attempt to create cooperation among nations.

Recalling Diplomats

When one nation strongly disapproves of another nation's policies, the displeased nation may decide to order its diplomats to return home. However, the recalling of diplomats is considered an extreme measure. Sometimes, only the ambassador is recalled, in which case day-to-day relations between nations, although strained, can continue. When all diplomats are recalled, it signals a complete cutoff of diplomatic relations.

Expelling Diplomats

Under international law, diplomats and their families cannot be arrested or tried for a crime in the host nation. This practice, known as *diplomatic immunity*, was developed to protect diplomats from harsh treatment if two nations were at war or on bad terms. However, if a diplomat commits a serious crime such as spying, murder, or drug trafficking, the host nation can expel the offending diplomat from the country.

Trade Relations

Trade relations are another way in which nations conduct foreign policy. Some trade agreements are made between nations to reduce or eliminate trade restrictions on each other's goods. This type of agreement promotes stability and growth in the economies of both nations. Developed nations sometimes grant *preferential* trade agreements to undeveloped nations to encourage economic development.

Nations can also use trade to try to change or influence the domestic policies of a trading partner. Restrictions on trade can be instituted to show disapproval of the policies of a nation. Trade relations often reflect the state of political relations between nations.

Establishing Trade Relations

Establishing trade relations is one way of showing cooperation between nations after a period of tension. For example, when the United States and the Soviet Union entered into *detente* in 1972, they agreed to expand trade relations between their nations.

In addition, establishing trade relations allows nations to open up avenues of communication while they work out political differences. Although the United States did not formally recognize the People's Republic of China until 1979, both nations agreed to conduct limited trade as a prelude to establishing formal diplomatic relations.

Restrictions on Trade

Nations restrict trade for two basic reasons: either they want to protect a domestic industry from foreign competition, or they want to discriminate against products exported by another nation. Trade restrictions take two basic forms: tariffs and quotas. *Tariffs* are taxes on imports. *Quotas* set limits on the amount of goods that can be imported.

Some nations restrict the sale of certain products to adversaries or potential adversaries because of national security. For example, the United States restricts the sale of high-technology equipment such as computers to the Soviet Union because we fear they might use such equipment for military purposes.

Foreign Aid

Many of the world's wealthy nations provide economic and military aid to undeveloped countries to foster economic development, gain and protect allies, and promote internal stability. Foreign aid consists of two different types of aid: economic and military.

Economic Aid

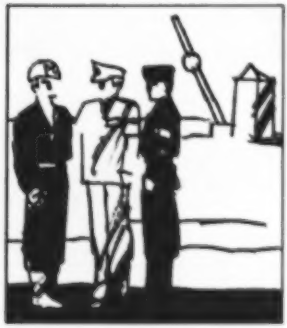
Economic aid usually consists of cash grants or loans, but can also include food, farming equipment, or technical assistance. Developing nations use economic aid to stimulate economic growth. Such aid can be used to build power plants, encourage more efficient farming methods, or develop domestic industries. Economic aid can also be used to find solutions for long-term problems such as overpopulation, starvation, or disease.

Nations seek economic aid from international organizations—such as the World Bank—or from individual countries. Aid that is granted through an international organization is called *multilateral aid*. Aid that is granted by one nation directly to another nation is called *bilateral aid*.

Military Aid

Military aid can consist of cash grants for developing a stronger defense, but can also include weapons, training programs, or military advisors. Military aid serves to enhance the donor nation's security by strengthening another nation's military forces. Military aid is used to help friendly governments stay in power or to aid potential allies in their efforts to overthrow a hostile government.

Alliances



Alliances are multilateral agreements among nations to protect each other in case of attack by an adversary. Nations join together in military alliances for mutual protection and support of common interests. By joining together, nations tend to have more power—both militarily and politically. For this reason, alliances are especially important to smaller nations.

The two major military alliances today are the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact. Formed in 1949, NATO consists of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the United States, and West Germany. The purpose of NATO is to deter the Soviet Union from attacking Western Europe. Under the NATO agreement, nations consider an attack on any member country of the alliance as an attack on all members. The Warsaw Pact was formed in 1955 in response to the formation of NATO. Its members are Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union. The Warsaw Pact also considers an attack on one of its members to be an attack on all member nations.

International and Regional Organizations

International organizations are made up of every nation that wishes to participate. These organizations vary greatly in purpose and in the types of issues they address. International and regional organizations play a dual role in international relations. First, they provide a forum for nations to cooperate on problems that affect all nations; and second, they act as "players" in the international arena themselves. However, international cooperation sometimes breaks down because individual nations use these organizations to pursue their own national interests.

International Organizations

The United Nations is probably the best-known international organization. Its primary purpose is to promote peace. To this end, the UN espouses the principle of *collective security*, that is, that a threat to peace in one nation is considered a threat to world peace.

For the superpowers, the United Nations pro-

vides a forum for them to discuss their different national interests. For smaller nations, the UN provides an equal opportunity for them to express their views—regardless of their nation's size, population, economic development, or military strength.

In addition, there are numerous other international organizations devoted to a variety of purposes. The World Health Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the International Atomic Energy Agency are all examples of international organizations.

Regional Organizations

Regional organizations operate much like international organizations, except their members are only those nations from a particular region of the world. These nations share common interests because they are located close together. For example, the European Economic Community (EEC)—or the Common Market—is composed of most of the nations of Western Europe. The EEC promotes economic cooperation among its members by lowering tariffs and encouraging intra-European trade. The Organization of American States was established to promote the joint interests of the sovereign nations of North America and South America and to provide for the collective security of these nations. Other regional organizations—such as the Organization for Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)—were founded so that smaller nations could compete with the superpowers on economic and political issues. Working together, these nations are much stronger than they would be if they functioned alone.

Boycotts and Sanctions

Boycotts and sanctions are hostile actions taken against nations. These measures are the most severe form of action that can be taken against a nation, short of military action. In some circumstances, boycotts and sanctions are considered acts of war.

A boycott is a decision by one nation or a group of nations to abstain from buying certain goods to try to force a particular nation to change its policies. Boycotts may also take the form of a refusal to participate. For example, nations may decide to boycott an international sporting event—such as the Olympic games—or a meeting of an international organization—such as the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

(UNESCO)—in order to protest a policy or action.

A sanction is an action taken by one or more nations to force another nation to comply with international law or to change its policies. Sanctions can be economic measures—such as denying loans to a nation—or political measures—such as excluding a nation from participating in an international organization.

Military Force

For centuries, people have used military force to gain territory, reclaim previously lost land, extend power over another group of people, spread a religion, or settle disputes. If diplomacy fails to resolve a conflict or a nation perceives that there are no other alternatives, the use of military force becomes necessary.

Yet, war is only one way that nations use military force in support of foreign policy. Some uses of a nation's military are meant simply as warnings. Others represent a challenge to a nation's sovereignty. Still others are direct threats to another nation's security. Therefore, when a nation's leaders contemplate using military force, they must carefully consider the consequences of their actions. They must try to anticipate the reaction of their adversaries and of the world community.

Show of Strength

Nations maintain military forces to show that they are prepared to defend themselves. A show of strength is the strategic positioning of armed forces around the world. For example, the U.S. and Soviet navies constantly remind the world and each other of their military power by continually patrolling the world's oceans.

If a nation perceives that a conflict in another region of the world may threaten its national interests, it may send part of its military forces to that region. In this way, a nation can "keep an eye on" a situation. In 1987, the U.S. Navy began escorting Kuwaiti oil tankers in the Persian Gulf as a warning to Iran that the United States was prepared to take military action to guarantee that international shipping lanes remain open.

Limited Military Response

Limited military responses are short-term military actions designed to force another nation to back down in a specific dispute and possibly to resolve the conflict through diplomacy. A limited military

response warns the offending nation that it is risking full-scale war by its actions and alerts the world community that a nation is willing to fight for its security and ideals. The action clearly communicates what a nation considers unacceptable. In 1983, the United States invaded Grenada to eliminate Cuban and other communist activity in the nation. Through this limited military action, the United States let the world know that communist expansion in the Caribbean would not be tolerated.

War

When all efforts for solving a conflict fail, nations go to war. Because the costs of war—to individuals, to society, and to a nation—are tremendous, nations perceive war as the foreign policy tool of last resort. Most nations go to war only when they believe that the benefits of battle will outweigh the costs.

The development of new weapons in the twentieth century changed the way in which wars are fought. In World War I, the first use of armored tanks gave British and American forces a decided advantage in the war's final months. In World War II, the development of the atomic bomb changed the way nations defined military power. Today, war is a more dangerous alternative for resolving conflicts than at any other time in history. The threat that some nation might use a nuclear weapon is now one of the risks world leaders must consider before going to war.

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The World's Countries and Territories

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